CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM IRANICARUM

Part I   Inscriptions of Ancient Iran

VOL. V THE ARAMAIC VERSIONS OF THE ACHAEMENIAN INSCRIPTIONS, ETC.

TEXTS I

The Bisitun Inscription of Darius the Great

Aramaic Version

TEXT, TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY
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INTRODUCTION
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CONTENTS

LIST OF PLATES

PLATE I
Key to reconstruction of original scroll of Bisitun text. Five out of eleven columns (IV-V, VII-VIII, IX) have been preserved (Fig. 1). Col. V suffered least damage (Fig. 5). A total of 29 out of 36 small fragments have been integrated into the reconstruction of the other columns (Figs 6-8). Continuation on Plate XXV.

PLATE II
Reconstruction of lower part of Col. IV (Col. 1 of preserved text = lines 1-10) of Bisitun text incorporates 11 of the 16 fragments from Sachau Pl. 57. Continuation on Plate III. (1:2)

PLATE III
Reconstruction of Col. V of Bisitun text (Col. 2 of preserved text = lines 11-28). This is the best preserved column (Sachau Pl. 52). Continuation on Plate IV. (1:2)

PLATE IV
Reconstruction of Col. VII of Bisitun text (Col. 3 of preserved text = lines 29-46: Sachau Pl. 54 right). Eleven fragments from Sachau Pl. 56 recto have been integrated into the reconstruction. Continuation on Plate V. (1:2)

PLATE V
Reconstruction of Col. VIII of Bisitun text (Col. 4 of preserved text = lines 47-63: Sachau Pl. 54 left). Five fragments from Sachau Pl. 56 recto have been integrated into the reconstruction. Continuation on Pl. VI. (1:2)

PLATE VI
Reconstruction of Col. XI of Bisitun text (Col. 5 of preserved text = lines 64-79: Sachau Pl. 55 verso). Five fragments from Sachau Pl. 56 verso have been integrated into the reconstruction. (1:2)

PLATE VII
General photograph of first frame of Bisitun papyrus as mounted in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (P. 13447 Kol. I). Lower: fragments from Sachau Pl. 57 arranged according to reconstruction of Col. IV (Col. 1 of preserved text = lines 1-10: cf. Plates I and II). Upper left: single fragment from Col. III (Sachau Pl. 56, 1: cf. Plate XXV). Upper right: seven unplaced fragments from Sachau Pls. 56 and 57. Courtesy Staatliche Museen. For detail cf. Plate XI. Continuation on Plate VIII. (9:14)

PLATE VIII
General photograph of second frame of Bisitun papyrus as mounted in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (P. 13447 Kol. II). It is the preserved part of Col. V (Col. 2 = lines 11-28: cf. Sachau Pl. 52). Courtesy Staatliche Museen. Continuation on Plate IX. (3:4)

PLATE IX
General photograph of third frame of Bisitun papyrus as mounted in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (P. 13447 Kol. III and IV). It is the preserved part of Cols. VII-VIII (Cols. 3-4 = lines 29-63: cf. Sachau Pl. 54 plus sixteen fragments from Sachau Pl. 56): for key, cf. Plate I, Figs. 6, 7. Courtesy Staatliche Museen. Continuation on Plate X. (1:2)

PLATE X
General photograph of verso of third frame of Bisitun papyrus as mounted in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (P. 13447 Kol. V). It is the preserved part of Col. XI (Col. 5 = lines 64-79: Sachau Pl. 55 verso plus five fragments from Sachau Pl. 56 verso. For key cf. Plate I, Fig. 8). The column to the left contains accounts. Courtesy Staatliche Museen. (1:2)

PLATE XI
Photograph (montage) of fragments mounted in first frame of Bisitun papyrus. Group 57 (bottom and right edge) has been incorporated into Col. 1 of preserved text (Plates II and VII), excepting Nos. 5, 6, 8, 10, and 11, as yet unlocated. Group 56 has been incorporated into Cols. 3 and 4 (Plates IV, V, IX), excepting the unlocated numbers 10, 11, 16. One isolated fragment (56, 1) belongs to Col. III (Plate XXV upper). Continuation on Plate XII. Scale approximate.

PLATE XII
Photograph of right half of text in second frame of Bisitun papyrus (Col. 2 = lines 11-28: cf. Plates III and VIII). (Panchromatic film, red filter.) Continuation on Plate XIII. (2:3)

PLATE XIII
Photograph of left half of text in second frame of Bisitun papyrus (Col. 2 = lines 11-28: cf. Plates III and VIII). (Panchromatic film, red filter.) Continuation on Plate XIV. (2:3)

PLATE XIV
Photograph of right part of text in third frame of Bisitun papyrus (Col. 3 = lines 29-46). For key to fragments cf. Plate I, Fig. 6. Continuation on Plate XV. (3:4)

PLATE XV
Photograph of central portion of text in third frame of Bisitun papyrus (Col. 3, lines 29-44: Col. 4, lines 47 [partial]-63). For full text cf. Plates IV, V, IX. Continuation on Plate XVI.

PLATE XVI
Photograph of upper-central portion of text in third frame of Bisitun papyrus (Col. 3, lines 29-36: Col. 4, lines 47-56). For full text cf. Plates IV, V, IX. Continuation on Plate XVII.

PLATE XVII
Photograph of lower-central portion of text in third frame of Bisitun papyrus (Col. 3, lines 36-46: Col. 4, lines 55-63). For full text cf. Plates IV, V, IX. Continuation on Plate XVIII. [Minor processing fault affects two characters in l. 43 at right.] (5:6)

PLATE XVIII
Photograph of lower left side of text in third frame of Bisitun papyrus (Col. 4, lines 48-63). For key to fragments cf. Plate I, Fig. 7: for full text cf. Plates IV, V, IX. Continuation on Plate XIX. (5:6)

PLATE XIX
Photograph of lower right side of text on verso of third frame of Bisitun papyrus (Col. 5, lines 71-9). For key to fragments cf. Plate I, Fig. 8: for full text cf. Plates VI and X. Continuation on Plate XX. (6:5)

PLATE XX
Photograph of left portion of text on verso of third frame of Bisitun papyrus (Col. 5, lines 64-78: last line partially cut off. Column to left contains accounts). For full text cf. Plates VI and X. Continuation on Plate XXI.

PLATE XXI
Photograph of upper left portion of text on verso of third frame of Bisitun papyrus (Col. 5, lines 64-72: column to left contains accounts). For full text cf. Plates VI and X. Continuation on Plate XXII.

PLATE XXII
Photograph of lower left portion of text on verso of third frame of Bisitun papyrus (Col. 5, lines 69-78: column to left contains accounts). For full text cf. Plates VI and X. (4:5)

PLATE XXIII
Photograph of right part of verso of second frame of Bisitun papyrus. The column is one of accounts and the first line (Cowley 63:1) contains the earliest date, "Year [3] + 3 + [0 or 1?]", most likely in the reign of Darius II, before which the Bisitun text must have been written.

PLATE XXIV
Photograph of left part of verso of second frame of Bisitun papyrus. The column is one of accounts and lines 1 and 8 (cf. Cowley 63:8, 15) contain dates, most likely in the reign of Darius II, before which the Bisitun text must have been written.

PLATE XXV
Upper: reconstruction of beginning of Col. III of Bisitun text incorporates three fragments (Sachau Pl. 56, 1; Nos. 91 and 93 of 96 unpublished fragments: cf. Plate VII). Lower: reconstruction of end of Col. I of Bisitun texts incorporates two joined fragments (Sachau Pl. 57, 21 plus Pl. 61, 5). Continuation on Plate II.

FOREWORD

Paragraph 70 of the Old Persian text of the Bisitun Inscription (lacking in the Akkadian version) records that copies of the Inscription were dispatched throughout the Persian Empire. Among the documents discovered in the early part of this century in the remnants of the settlement of the Jews at Elephantine was part of a late fifth century copy of the Aramaic version of this Inscription. It was published by Sachau, and included in the collections of texts edited by Ungnad and by Cowley. A reexamination of the text in the Berlin Museum and advances in many fields have made a new edition possible. Several disciplines and skills coalesce in the presentation of a newly restored text: philology, papyrology and the graphic arts. The text, translation and commentary are the joint efforts of B. Porten and J. C. Greenfield. The papyrology, Introduction, and Fragments are the work of B. Porten; the hand drawings were done by Ada Yardeni, whose skill gave concrete expression to our restoration. Our sincerest gratitude goes to the Papyrus Sammlung of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin for allowing us to study the papyri anew, responding to our requests to reposition the fragments, and for providing us with new panchromatic photographs. We are pleased to mention by name Dr. W. Müller, Dr. I. Müller, and Miss M. Krutzsch.

Finally, our deepest appreciation to the Secretary for his many efforts on our behalf.

Due to insurmountable technical difficulties the infra-red photographs did not achieve the consistently high quality we would have desired.

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The list does not contain the articles referred to in the course of discussion of various aspects of the text.

INTRODUCTION

I. The Text

The Aramaic text of Darius' Bisitun Inscription was discovered at the Jewish military colony in Elephantine, Egypt, and published, along with other texts, by Ed. Sachau in 1911. It consisted of two papyrus sheets (Pap. 61 and 62=Pls. 52, 54, 55) and thirty-six fragments (Pls. 56, 57, Nos. 1–16). Sachau noted that the Aramaic text corresponds exactly in word and phraseology with the Akkadian version and suggested that it was an official translation dispatched to the Elephantine garrison. He presented, in parallel columns, the King-Thompson English translation and the Aramaic text. Unfortunately, the Aramaic text was fragmentary and Sachau proposed a reconstruction for one of the columns where the damage was least (Sachau, pp. 190–191), but refrained from reconstructing the others. In 1923, A. E. Cowley republished all the known Aramaic papyri and attempted a full reconstruction of the preserved text, running to 63 lines. In the notes he added, in approximate form, a ten-line reconstruction based upon three fragments (Pl. 57, Nos. 1, 3, 7). He arranged the King-Thompson Akkadian version so that its lines would correspond with those of the Aramaic text. There was one large fragment which neither he nor Sachau had been able to integrate into the main text (Pl. 56, No. 3) and Cowley concluded that it must have stemmed from a second recension. Furthermore, Cowley noted that there were "blank spaces which occur at irregular intervals" and assumed that these were left by the scribe who could not read passages of an obliterated *Vorlage* (Cowley, pp. 249f.). Strangely enough, however, for most of these blank spaces, he gave a corresponding Akkadian text with sub-line numbers, viz. 3a (=our l. 14), 6a (=l. 18), 11a (=l. 24), 21a (=l. 35).

Several factors now make possible the publication of a more precise Aramaic text. In October 1976 and January 1977, Porten studied the papyri at the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin and concluded that fragment Pl. 56, No. 3 indeed belonged to the main text and there was no evidence for two recensions. The fragment did stand to the right of the sheet in Pl. 54. In 1978 E. N. Von Voigtlander published a new and superior edition of the Akkadian text, making possible a more precise reconstruction of the Aramaic version. With the creative assistance of the graphic artist and student of Aramaic palaeography, Ada Yardeni, it was possible to integrate two more fragments (Pl. 56, Nos. 4, 8), this time to the left of Pl. 54, and reconstitute ten lines of the column tentatively restored by Cowley.

Upon the urging of the editorial committee of the Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, intensive efforts were made to locate the remaining fragments. By the winter of 1979–80 twelve of sixteen fragments from Pl. 57 (Nos. 1–4, 7–9, 12–16) had been placed in the reconstituted column. Yardeni's hand-copy of the whole text had been sent to the Berlin Museum and in the spring of 1979–80 Miss M. Krutzsch, papyrus specialist, recognized that Pl. 56, No. 2 stood between 56,3 and the main text. In September 1980 Porten visited the Museum again and together with Miss Krutzsch placed three more fragments from Pl. 56 (Nos. 5, 9, 15) on the left side of Pl. 54 and nine (Nos. 6, 10, 12–14, 17–20) on the right side. Of the twenty fragments placed by Sachau on Pl. 56, seventeen and probably eighteen (including No. 16) belonged to the papyrus of Pl. 54. Only one (No. 1) belonged to an earlier column. Likewise, probably all of the sixteen fragments placed by Sachau in Pl. 57 belonged to a wholly deteriorated papyrus which preceded the piece in Pl. 52. Five of these (Nos. 5, 6, 8, 10, 11) however, still defy location. One piece (No. 8), placed earlier (winter, 1979–80) had to be removed (September 1980) because of non-correspondence in colour and fibres. Positioning of most of the fragments was made possible by our reconstruction and in turn validated it. Some cases provided a pleasant surprise. The newly restored text now runs to 79 lines.

Remounted by the skilled hands of Miss M. Krutzsch, the Bisitun papyrus has been reduced from four frames (P. 13447A, B, C, D) to three (P. 13447 Kol. I; Kol. II; Kol. III and IV on recto and Kol. V on verso). New photographs were taken of each frame and detailed shots, many in infra-red, of individual sections. Shadow has blurred the edges of the papyrus in some photographs and appropriate allowance must be made therefor. We continue to refer to the text by the Sachau plate numbers, in addition to our own plates, to enable the reader to compare the present edition with the *editio princeps*.

In July, 1981 Porten made a fourth visit to the Museum and learned of two further discoveries by Miss Krutzsch: (1) On papyrological grounds she had identified three more fragments as belonging to the Bisitun text. Two of these came from a frame of 96 unpublished fragments (No. 91 and 93) while the third was one (Pl. 57, No. 19) of thirteen fragments (=Cowley 64, 17–29) which Sachau grouped separately from the other Bisitun fragments. (2) Miss Krutzsch also effected a join between fragments Pl. 57, No. 21 (=Cowley 64, 21) and Pl. 61, No. 5 (=Cowley 68, 5). As a result of this join it was immediately apparent that *krš* in line 2 of the fragment was not the weight *karsh* but the king Cyrus. The piece was neither from a letter nor from a contract, as mooted by Cowley, but belonged to Bisitun. It corresponded to Akk. lines 11–12 and since it had a lower margin must have stood at the bottom of a column. It was now possible to reconstruct, with reasonable certainty, the dimensions of the original papyrus scroll on which the Bisitun text was copied.

The Aramaic text must have consisted of eleven columns of 17–18 lines each, yielding a total length of ca. 190 lines. The width of the columns varied between 29 cm (Cols. VIII and XI) and 38 cm (Col. III) with the mean width being 35–36 cms (Cols. IV and V) and the average estimated width ca. 33.3 cm. The newly joined "Cyrus" fragment (Pls. 57, 21 plus 61, 5) was to be located in the middle of two lines of restored text at the bottom of Col. 1 (Pl. XXV lower). No text can be identified with Col. II. Three fragments stood at the top of Col. III—Pls. 56, No. 1; 57, No. 19 (=Cowley 64, 19. Cowley had compared Aḥiqar 44, 46) and No. 91 of the 96 unpublished fragments. The four lines of this restored Aramaic text (Pl. XXV upper) correspond to Akk. lines 24–28. The length of Akk. lines 1–35 varied between 2.3 meters and 2.6 meters (Von Voigtlander, p. 4). Aramaic Columns I and II each corresponded to 12 Akk. lines. Aramaic Col. III was unusually wide and corresponded to ca. 16 Akk. lines. As the length of Akk. lines 36–112 gradually increases from 3.2 to ca. 4 meters, the Aramaic–Akkadian correspondence decreases. In preserved Cols. IV–V, VII–VIII it drops from ca. 9 to ca. 7 Akk. lines. Unpreserved Col. IX would have corresponded to less than 5 Akk. lines, coming to the effective end of the narrative (Akk. sec. 40). It seems the scribe had left the rest of the column blank because he wished to distinguish the narrative proper from the summary of Darius' campaign (Akk. secs. 41–43) and other matter. This latter he wrote on the verso, turning his scroll over from right to left. The summary, then, appeared in unpreserved Col. X on the verso against Col. IX and part of Col. VIII on the recto. The final Col. XI was written against Col. VIII and part of Col. VII on the recto. The writing on the recto is "downhill", i.e. parallel to the fibres and perpendicular to the join; that on the verso is perpendicular to the fibres and to the join.

The Aramaic text of 11 columns was spread across an oversized scroll of 24 sheets. The space between joins in the preserved sheets varies between 13.3 cm (sheet 19; Sachau Pl. 54; Pl. IX) and 14.2 cm (sheet 13; Sachau Pl. 52; Pl. VIII); and in two of the reconstructed sheets between 14.5 cm (sheet 12; cf. Pl. I, Figs. 1; 4, No. 12) and 15.5 cm (sheet 18; cf. Pl. I, Figs. 1; 6, No. 12). All joins are of the right sheet over the left. Papyrus sheets frequently break at or near the join (sheets 13, 14, 19; cf. Pl. I, Fig. 1) and the fragments in the four reconstructed lines of Col. III lay to the right of their respective joins (sheets 8 and 9; Pl. I, Fig. 1). In the one instance where parts of two columns are preserved on the same papyrus, the space between columns is 2.5 cm. (Sachau Pl. 54; Pl. IX). Thus if we assume an average column width of 33.3 cm and a papyrus sheet width between joins alternating between 13.5 and 14.5 cm then 9 columns on the recto will give us a scroll of 24 sheets. We may assume that the first sheet was left blank as a protective sheet for the scroll. The normal-size roll was 20 sheets, but oversized rolls are known (Černy, *Paper and Books in Ancient Egypt*, London, 1952, 9 plus notes). Corresponding Aramaic and Akkadian columns and Akkadian lines and sections are opposite.

The script of the Aramaic text has been classified by J. Naveh as "semi-formal of the last quarter of the fifth century BCE" ("The Development of the Aramaic Script", *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities* 5 [1970], 35). Immediately after the last column of the inscription begin several columns of accounts (Sachau 62 verso/55, col. 2; 61 verso/53=Cowley 61–63), written in a different though still professional hand. Three names in these accounts appear as witnesses in contracts of this

	Papyrus sheet	Preserved Aramaic column	Original Aramaic column	Width of column	Aramaic lines	Akkadian lines	Akkadian sections	Old Persian paragraphs
RECTO	1–4		I	33 cm		1–12	1–10	1–10
	4–7		II			12–24	10–12	10–13
	7–9		III	38 cm		24–40	13–20	14–21
	10–12	1	IV (half restored)	35 cm	1–10	41–50	20–23	21–26
	12–15	2	V	36 cm	11–28	50–59	23–25	27–31
	15–17		VI			59–68	25–29	32–36
	17–19	3	VII (part of right half missing)	30.5 cm	29–46	68–77	30–34	37–42
	20–22	4	VIII (part of left half missing)	29 cm	47–63	77–84	34–38	42–48
	22–24		IX					
VERSO	24–21		X					
	21–19	5	XI	29 cm	64–79	97–98 (105–106), 101–103, 109 ff.	44 (52) 49, 54–55	55 (64), 60–61, 68–69

period—Menahem b. Azariah (sic!; 420 BCE [Kraeling 7:44; Cowley 20:17, 61:11]), Menahem b. Shallum (416 BCE [Cowley 25:18, 63:10; cf. Cowley 35:2, 5, 44:1; Kraeling 11:13]), and Hanan b. Haggai (410 BCE [Cowley 28:16, 61:2]). Two dates in these accounts, albeit fragmentary, confirm an *ad quem* date early in the reign of Darius II. These dates are year 6+ and year 13+ (Cowley 63:8, 15) and must refer to 418+ and 411+ respectively. The reign of Darius' successor, Artaxerxes II, did not reach even six years in Egypt. The first date in these accounts (Cowley 63:1) should be restored (contra Cowley) "Year [3] + 3 + [0 or 1]", i.e. year 6 (= 418) or 7 (= 417) (Pls. XXIII–XXIV).

One may, of course, explain the recopying of the Darius inscription as the exercise of a master scribe. Once the oversize scroll had fulfilled its purpose, the blank space on the verso was secondarily exploited. The reverse was the case with Ahiqar; there, accounts were erased and the literary text inscribed. On the other hand, the occasion for recopying the inscription may have been inspired by events. Darius II came to the throne (423 BCE) just a century after the accession of Darius I (522/1). The recopying on the inscription celebrating the triumphs of Darius I during the days of Darius II would have been a reaffirmation of the loyalty of the Elephantine Jews to the Persian crown. Nonetheless, the scroll, although found at Elephantine, may have been copied at Syene for the Arameans settled there, and be devoid of patriotic motives.

The text of the Bisitun inscription from which the Elephantine text was in turn copied differed somewhat from the Old Persian, Elamite and Akkadian texts, or was defective. The last section was shorter, as will be shown in detail below, and contains material that, as N. Sims-Williams pointed out, comes from the final paragraph (No. 9) of the tomb inscription of Darius at Naqš-i Rustam (cf. N. Sims-Williams, "The final paragraph of the tomb-inscription of Darius I (DNb, 50–60): the Old Persian text in the light of an Aramaic version", *BSOAS*, XLIV, 1981, 1–7). This section has recently been shown by I. Gershevitch to be originally distinct from the rest of DNb ("The alloglottography of Old Persian", *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1979, 123 f., 130). In the Old Persian the text is addressed to the king's servant and advises him as to his behaviour. In the Aramaic, which contains two Old Persian words found in the Old Persian text, the admonition—to be of firm character and open mind—is addressed to the future king. Unfortunately, we do not know when or how this paragraph came to be incorporated into the Aramaic version of the Bisitun inscription; but it is now clear that there were Aramaic versions of other Old Persian texts beside the Bisitun inscription. The translation of Paragraph 9 of DNb may have been made from either the Old Persian or the Elamite text or, as suggested by I. Gershevitch, written

down in Aramaic directly from Darius' dictation. It is possible that an Aramaic version of Bisitun contained this section rather than the material found in the Old Persian and other texts, or, alternatively, that a scribe added it at a later date to the Aramaic text in the course of recopying the Bisitun inscription.

It remains to note here that for those lines for which we have evidence from the fragmentary Akkadian version found in Babylon, the Aramaic is closer to the text from Babylon than to that of the Bisitun inscription.

II. Division of the Text

The Akkadian and Old Persian unit demarcations are indicated by the introductory formula, "Thus says Darius the King". The inscription of this formula is more frequent in the Old Persian version and its main text runs to 69 paragraphs corresponding to 55 Akkadian sections. The preserved Aramaic text consists of at least eleven paragraphs. Unlike the Akkadian and Old Persian scribes, who left no space between their units, the Aramaic scribe left the remainder of the line blank when he came to the end of a paragraph. Thus the "blank spaces" noted by Cowley are not evidence of an obliterated *Vorlage*, but paragraph divisions. We may now note at least eight such divisions (ll. 7, 14, 18, 21, 24, 35, 50, 73). Two such "short lines" (cf. Cowley, pp. 260, 263) are evident in the preserved text (ll. 21, 50), one in restored column IV (l. 7) and one in the restored fragment in column XI (l. 73). In four lines (ll. 7, 14, 18, 24) the restored text comes up to the right edge of the papyrus and therefore the preserved surface is blank. In one instance (l. 35), Cowley sensed that the text should appear in the blank space, but he was unable to integrate it suitably. This procedure of leaving the end of a line blank was followed by the Aramaic scribe of the Wisdom of Aḥiqar. If the length of the proverb was shorter than that of the line, the scribe left the remainder of the line blank. If he did start a new proverb in the middle of the line, he wrote a lapidary *aleph* as a dividing mark between the two proverbs (Sachau, Pls. 45:2, 8, 12-15; 46:1-5, 7; 47 col. 1:2-3, 6, 9-11; etc.).

The division of the Aramaic text into paragraphs appears to have been, in part, a cross between the system followed by the Babylonian scribe—according to campaigns—and that of the Persian scribe—according to battles. Withal, the Aramaic text retains its own distinctiveness. The preserved and restored parts cover eight campaigns, in whole or in part, and the relationship between the Aramaic divisions and those of the Akkadian and Old Persian texts may be indicated as follows:

	Old Persian paragraph	Akkadian section	Aramaic paragraph
I. Median Campaign of Vidarna			
1. Revolt of Phraortes	24	22	1
2. Battle at Maru on 27 Tebet	25	22	1
II. Armenian Campaign of Dadarshu			
1. Battle at Zuzu on 8 Iyyar	26	23	2
2. Battle at Tigra on 18 Iyyar	27	23	2
3. Battle at Uyama in 9 Sivan	28	23	3
III. Armenian Campaign of Vaumisa			
1. Battle in Izalla on 15 Tebet	29	24	4
2. Battle in Utiyari on 30 Iyyar	30	24	5
IV. Darius' Median Campaign against Phraortes			
1. Battle at Kundur on 25 Nisan	31	25	6
V. Parthian Campaign of Hystaspes			
1. Concluding statement	37	30	6+
VI. Margian Campaign of Dadarshu against Frada			
1. Battle with Margians on 23 Kislev	38	31	7
2. Concluding statement	39	32	7

	Old Persian paragraph	Akkadian section	Aramaic paragraph
VII. Persian Campaign of Artavarziya against Vahyazdata			
1. Revolt of Vahyazdata in Persia	40	33	8
2. Battle at Rakha on 12 Iyyar	41	34	8
3. Battle at Mt. Parga on 5 Tammuz	42	34	8
4. Impalement of Vahyazdata in Uvadaichaya	43	35	8
5. Concluding statement	44	36	8
VIII. Arachosian Campaign of Vivana			
1. Battle in Kapishakana on 13 Tebet	45	37	9
2. Battle in Sattagydia on 7 Adar	46	37	9
3. Capture of rebels at Arshada and their execution	47	37	9
4. Concluding statement	48	38	9

The Aramaic text resembled the Akkadian in reserving the opening "Thus says King Darius" formula for the beginning of new campaigns: the first Armenian (Para. 2; l. 8), the second Armenian (Para. 4; l. 19), the Median (Para. 6; l. 25), the Margian (Para. 7; l. 30), the Persian (Para. 8; l. 36) and the Arachosian (Para. 9; l. 51). In two instances it followed the Old Persian practice of paragraphing battles, but unlike the Old Persian, omitted the introductory formula: the third battle, at Uyama, of the first Armenian campaign (Para. 3; l. 15) and the second battle, at Utiyari, in the second Armenian campaign (Para. 5; l. 22). It does not follow the joint practice of both Akkadian and Old Persian scribes of inscribing the formula before the concluding statements, "Then this province became mine. This is what I did in GN" (cf. ll. 29, 35, 50, 62). Once the paragraph division has a triple designation (Para. 9): blank space at the end of the paragraph (l. 50) and a blank line between the paragraphs (between ll. 50 and 51), accentuated by a marginal stroke.

Paragraph 10 of the Aramaic text appears to be a composite piece. The opening and closing pairs of lines appear to correspond with sentences from the Akkadian Bisitun inscription, while the intervening lines correspond to the last paragraph of Darius' Naqš-i Rustam b inscription (Para. 9), itself an independent piece (cf. Sims-Williams). As indicated, the origin of this addition is unknown. The "Address to Future Kings" formula, opening the paragraph, occurs twice in the Akkadian (Sections 44, 52) and Old Persian (Pars. 55, 64), and the Aramaic scribe appears to have drawn upon the phraseology of both passages. Akkadian Sections 45–48 appear to have been eliminated or at least abbreviated in a sentence or two (Aramaic lines 65b–66a, 70b) and the paragraph ends with the equivalent of Section 49. Sections 50–53 are not represented, the last no doubt because they concerned the preservation of "this stela and these sculptures"—a matter not pertinent to an account on papyrus. Comparison would be as follows:

	Akkadian lines	Aramaic lines
Warning against lies	97–98, 105–106	64–66a
Advice to royal successor	DNb Akk. 32–37	66b–70a
(Difficult text)	——	70b
Injunction not to conceal account	102–103	71–73

Aramaic paragraph 11 corresponds to Akkadian Section 54 and Old Persian Paragraph 68 but appears to have recorded the names of only four of Darius' six cohorts. The paragraph concludes with the statement of Akkadian Section 55 but lacks the opening "Thus says King Darius" formula.

III. Comparison with Akkadian Text

The correspondence of the Akkadian and Aramaic texts may be seen in the following line for line parallel translations. Italicized words indicate variants between the texts. Omissions in one text *vis-à-vis* the other are indicated by a straight line. For a short part of the Akkadian text there exists a fragmentary copy discovered in Babylon, which was first published by Weissbach, in *Babylonische Miszellen* (WVDOG 4),

pp. 24-6, pl. 9. The text has been compared with the Bisitun text by Mrs. Von Voigtlander on pp. 63-65 of her edition. The Babylon fragment is used below in the relevant sections for the comparison of the Akkadian and Aramaic texts. A wavy line in the Babylon fragment and Aramaic text indicates an omission or variant unique to both of these. An "x"ed line in the Babylon fragment indicates an omission in relation to the Bisitun text. ⟨⟩ indicates a word or phrase from the adjacent line, moved for purposes of translation.

BISITUN	ARAMAIC
Section 22	*Paragraph 1*

44. Then he became king of Media.
The *troops of Persia and Media*
with me were few. Then I sent
troops to Media. My servant,
a Persian named Vidarna,

45. *was in command of them. I*
sent (them) orders. "Go and
kill the troops of Media who do
not obey me". Then Vidarna
went to Media with troops.
Upon arrival in Media,
at *a town* named Maru *in Media,*

46. *there* he joined battle with the
troops of Media. He who was
commander of the Medes was
not there. Ahuramazda supported
me. With the protection
of Ahuramazda my troops killed
those rebels. On the 27th *day*
of Tebetu, they joined battle.

47. They killed
⌜3827?⌝ of them and took alive
4329. Then Vidarna did not
undertake another expedition in Media.
They were waiting for me there in *a*
town Kampada in Media until
I should come to Media.

48. Then they came to me at Ecbatana.

1. [Then he ⟨became⟩ king of Media.

2. The *Pe]rsian [and Median troops*
with me were few. Then I sent]
troop[s to Media. My servant,
a Persian named Vidarna,

3. *was at their head. I]*
s[aid, "Go,
kill the troops of Media who do
not] obey me". [Then Vidarna
went to Media with troops.
Upon arrival in Media,]

4. at (*a place*) [na]med Maru ——,
—— [he joined] battl[e with the
troops of Media. He who] wa[s
commander [of the Med]es·[was
not there. Ah]ura[mazda supported
me. With the protection

5. o]f Ahuramazda [my] tr[oops killed
those rebels. On the 27th ——
of Tebeth, they joined battle.
They killed

6. ⌜5827?⌝ of] them [and took alive
4329(?). Then Vidarna] did not
d[o any]thing [in Media].

7. They were [wai]ting for me [there in] ——
—— Kampanda [in] Media [until
I should come to Media.
Then they came to me at Ecbatana].

Section 23	*Paragraph 2*

Thus says Darius the King: I
sent my servant an Armenian
named Dadarshu to Armenia
and sent (him) orders, "Go
and kill the rebels who do not
obey me".

49. *Then Dadarshu went to Armenia.*
Upon arrival in Armenia the
rebels rallied *and*
went against Dadarshu to join
battle. Then Dadarshu *fought a*

8. [Thus sa]y[s Dari]us the King: [I
sent my servant an] A[rmenian]
————Dadarshu [to Armenia.

——————————————

——————————————

————.

——————————————.

Upon arrival in Armenia the
rebels r]allied;

9. [they went] against [Da]darshu to join
[battle. Then Dadarshu *joined*

BISITUN

battle at the *town* named Zuzu
in Armenia.

50. Ahuramazda supported me.
With the protection of Ahura-
mazda my troops killed the
rebel troops. On the 8th *day* of
Aiaru they *fought a*
battle. ————————————
——————————————. *Then*
for another expedition the rebels
rallied *and* went
against Dadarshu to join battle.
Then they *fought a* battle

51. at the *town* ——— Tigra *which is*
in Armenia. Ahuramazda suppor-
ted me. With the protection
of Ahuramazda my troops killed
the rebels. On the 18th *day* of
Aiaru they *fought a* battle. They
killed *546* of them
and took alive 520.

Then for another expedition
the rebels

52. rallied *and* went against Dadar-
shu *with troops* to join battle.
——— They *fought a* battle at
the *town* named Uyama
which is in Armenia. Ahura-
mazda supported me. With
the protection of Ahuramazda
my troops killed the rebels.
On the 9th *day* of Simanu

53. they *fought a* battle.
They killed 472 of them and
took alive ⌜525?⌝. Then Dadar-
shu did not *undertake an expe-
dition. They were* waiting for me
until I should come to Media.

Section 24

Thus says Darius the King: I
sent my servant, a Persian
named Vaumisa to Armenia

54. *and sent (him) orders,* "Go *and*
kill *the* rebel troops who do not
obey me". Then Vaumisa went

ARAMAIC

battle at the *fortress* named Zuzu]
in Armenia.

10. [Ahura]mazda supported me.
With the protection of Ahura-
m[azda my troops killed the
rebel troops. On the 8th ——— of
Iy]yar [they *joined*

11. battle. *They killed*] *827* [*of them*]
and took alive [·]*o6.* ——— *A
second time* the rebels
rall[ied; they went

12. against Dadarshu] to join battle.
[T]hen they *joined* battle
[at] the *fortress named* Tigra ———
in Armenia. Ahuramazda suppor-
ted [me. With the protection

13. of Ahuramazda m]y [troops] killed
the rebels. On the 18th ——— of
Iyyar they *joined* battle. They
killed *504*[*6*] of them

14. [and took alive 520].

Paragraph 3

15. [——— *A third time*
the rebels]
rallied; they went again[st] Dadar-
shu ——————— to join battle.
Then they *joined* battle at
[the ⟨*fortress*⟩ named] Uyama

16. [——————— in Armenia. Ahura]-
mazda supported me. With
the protection of Ahu[ramazda]
my troops [k]illed the re[b]els.
on the 9th ——— of [Sivan

17. they *joined* battle.
They killed] 472 [of] them and
too[k] alive [·]*o2.* Then Dadar-
shu did n[ot] *do any-*
[*thing.*] *He was* wait[ing for me

18. until I should come to Med]ia.

Paragraph 4

19. [Thus say]s [Darius the King]: I
se[nt] my servant, a Persian
[na]med Vaumisa [to Armenia].
I said, "Go,
[⟨kill⟩] *that* rebel t[roo]p [which does not

20. obey me]". Then Vaumisa went

BISITUN	ARAMAIC
to Armenia. Upon arrival, the rebels rallied *and* went against Vaumisa to join battle. *Then they fought a battle*	to Armenia. Upon arrival, the rebe[l]s rallied; they wen[t against] Va[umisa
55. in the territory of Izalla. Ahuramazda supported me. With the protection of Ahuramazda my troops killed the rebel troops. On the 15th day of Tebetu they fought a battle. They killed 2034 of them.	21. to join battle. ———— ———— ———— ———— ———— ———— ———— —————— They joined batt]le. He killed 2034 of them.

BISITUN	ARAMAIC Paragraph 5	BAB. FRAGMENT (I)
For another expedition the rebels rallied *and* went against Vaumisa to join	22. [*A second time* the reb]els rallied; they we[n]t against Vaumisa to join	0. [*For another expedition* the rebels
56. battle. *Then* they *fought a* battle *in the territory named* Utiyari *in Armenia.*	battle. ———— They [*jo*]*ined* battle.	1. rallied *and* went against] Vaumisa to join
Ahuramazda supported me. With the protection of Ahuramazda my troops killed the rebel troops. On the 30th *day* of Aiaru they *fought a* battle. They killed 2045 of them and took alive 1558.	———— ———— ———— ~~~~~~~~~~~~ ~~~~ ———— ———— ———— ———— ———— . [On the 30th ————] of Iyyar they *joi*[*ned* battle].	2. [battle. *Then* they *fought a* battle *in the territory*] ———— *Utiyari in Armenia.* 3. [~~~~~~~~~ ~~~ *With the protection of Ahuramazda*] *my troops* 4. [*killed*] ⟨*the rebels* ————.⟩ [On the 30th *day* of Aiaru] they *fought a* battle. They killed
57. Then Vaumisa did not *undertake another expedition. They were* waiting for me in Armenia until I should come to Media.	23. [They killed 204]6 [of them and] took alive 1578. Then Va[umi]sa [did not *do*] *anything. He* [*was w*]aiting for me ~~~~~~~ [until 24. I should come to Media].	5. [2045 of them] and took [alive] 15[. .]. 6. [Then Vaumisa did not] *undertake* [*another expedition.*] *They were* waiting for me ~~~~~~~ until 7. I should come [to Media].
Section 25 Thus says Darius the King: Then I left Babylon *and* went to	*Paragraph 6* 25. [Thus says Darius the King: Then I le]ft [Babylo]n (*and*) went to	*Section 25* Thus [⟨says⟩] Darius the King: 8. [Then] I left Babylon *and* went to

8

BISITUN	ARAMAIC	BAB. FRAGMENT (I)

Media. Upon arrival in Media, at *a town* named Kundur	Me[dia]. Upon arrival in Media, at (*a place*) named Kundur in Med[ia], that [Phraо]rtes ———————	9. [Media. Upon arrival in] Media, at *a town* named Kundur
58. in Media, that Phraortes *who said "I am Khashatritti, a descendant of Cyaxares, King of Media"* with troops		10. [in Media, that] ⟨Phraortes⟩
		12. [*who said*] "*I am*
	~~ ~~~~~~~~~~~~~ ——————— wi[th	~~~~~~~~~~~~~ ~~~~~~~~~~~~~ *King of Media"* with
went against me to join battle. *Then* we *fought a* battle. Ahuramazda supported me. With the protection of Ahuramazda, ⟨*we killed*⟩ the army of Phraortes.	troops 26. went against me to join battle. ——— We *joined* battle. Ahura]ma[zda su]pported me. With the pro[tec]tion of Ahuramazda *I* [ki]lled the army of [Phraortes].	[troops went] against me [to join] battle. *Then* we *fought a* battle. 13. xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx xxxxxxx. [With the protection of Ahuramazda ? killed] the army of Phraortes.

BISITUN		ARAMAIC

59. On the 25th *day* of Nisannu we joined battle. *We* killed ⌈34, 425?⌉ of them and took alive [ ].		On [the 25th ——— of 27. Nisan we joined battle. *I* killed 34, 42]5 of them [and] took [alive] 18,01[·]. 28. ???

Section 30

68. *Thus says Darius the King:* Then *this* province became mine. This is what I did in Parthia.

Section 31

Thus says Darius the King: The province named *Margiana* rebelled against me. *There was a man*, a Margian named Frada.

69. *He became a leader* over them. Then I sent my servant, a Persian named Dadarshu, satrap of Bactria, *and sent (him) orders*, "Go *and* kill the *rebel* troops who do not obey me". Then Dadarshu went *with troops.*

29. ———————————

[Then] *the* province became mine. This is what I did in Parthia.

Paragraph 7

30. [Thus says Darius the King: The province] named *Parthia* [rebelled against me]. ———————
——————— A Margian [⟨named Frada⟩], *they made as king* over them.

31. [Then I sent my servant, a Persian] nam[ed Dadarshu,] satrap o[f Bactr]ia: ———————*I* said, "Go, [ki]ll

32. [the ——— troops who do not obey m]e". Then Da[darshu w]ent

———————

BISITUN	ARAMAIC	BAB. FRAGMENT (II)
They *fought a* battle with the Margians.	(*and*) *joined* battle with the Marg[i]ans.	1. [They] *fou*[*ght* a battle with the Margians.

BISITUN	ARAMAIC	BAB. FRAGMENT (II)
70. Ahuramazda suppor- ted me. With the protection of Ahuramazda my troops killed *the* rebel *troops.* On the 23rd *day* of Kislimu they *fought a* battle. *He killed* *Frada and the nobles* *who were with him—* *a·total of* ⌜46?⌝. *He* killed 55,2?? of them and took alive 6572.	Ahuramazda suppor- ted me. 33. [With the protection of Ahuramazda] m[y] troops [ki]lled *those* rebel[*s*] ∼∼∼∼∼. On the 23rd ———— of Kislev they *joined* battle. ∼∼∼∼∼∼∼∼∼∼ ∼∼∼∼∼∼∼∼∼∼∼∼ ∼∼∼∼∼∼∼∼∼∼∼∼ ∼∼∼∼∼∼∼∼∼. 34. [*They*] killed 5]5,24[3 of them] and t[ook] alive 6972.	xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx xxxxxxx.] 2. With the protection [of Ahuramazda my troops killed] ⟨*those*⟩ [rebel*s* ∼∼∼∼∼. 3. On the 23rd *day* of Kislimu they *fought a* battle. ∼∼∼∼∼∼∼∼∼∼ ∼∼∼∼∼∼∼∼∼∼∼∼ ∼∼∼∼∼∼∼∼∼∼∼∼ ∼∼∼∼∼∼∼∼ . *He* killed 4. ?] of them [and took alive] 5. 697[·].

Section 32

71. *Thus says Darius*
the King: Then *this*
province
became mine. This
is what I did *in Bac-*
tria and Margiana.

35. ———————————
———— [Then *the*
province
be]came [mine]. This
is what I [did *against*]
the [*Ma*]*rgians.*

[*Thus says Darius*
the King: Then *this*
province]
6. became mine. [This
is what I did *in Bac-*
tria/Margiana].

Section 33

Thus says Darius
the King: *A man,*
a Persian named
Vahyazdata
in *a town named*
Tarawa in the pro-
vince ———— Yau-
tiya, residing in
the country of Per-
sia,
arose *in Persia* and
said
to the people,

Paragraph 8

36. [Thus] say[s Darius
the King]: ————
A Persian na[med]
Vahyazdata
in ————————
Parth[*ia* in (the pro-
vince)] *named* [Yau]-
tiya, residing in
———————— Per-
sia,
[arose ———— (and)
said
37. to the people,

Section 33

7. Th[us says] Darius
the King: [*A man*
xxxxxxxx] ⟨named⟩
[Vahyazdata]
8. in *a town* [*named*]
Tarawa [in the pro-
vince *named* Yau-
tiya, residing in
the country of Per-
sia],
9. arose *in* [*Persia* and
said
to the people,

72. "I am
Smerdis son of Cy-
rus, king of lands".
Then the Persian
troops, as many as
had previously come
to me to the palace –
of Babylon from
Anshan,

"I am
Smerdis so]n of Cy-
rus" ∼∼∼∼∼∼∼∼∼∼∼.
Then the [Persian]
tr[oo]ps, as many as
(*were*)
in the palace*s*
in ʾlwk which is/are in
[A]nshan,

"I am]
10. Smerdis son of Cy-
[rus" ∼∼∼∼∼∼∼∼∼.
Then the Persian
troops, as many as
(*were*)]
11. *in* xxxxxxxxxxxxxx
xxxx ʾlwk ———— *of*
(the town of . . .),

BISITUN	ARAMAIC	BAB. FRAGMENT (II)
rebelled against me and went over to *Vahyazdata.* He became king in Persia.	38. [rebelled against me] (and) went over [to] *him.* He [be]came k[ing in Persia].	[rebelled against me and] 12. went over to *him.* [He became king in Persia.

Section 34 *Thus says Darius* *the King:*	——————— ———	*Section 34* 13. *Thus says] Dari[us* *the King]:*

BISITUN	ARAMAIC
Then I sent the 73. *other* small troop which was in Persia which had not rebelled against me and the Median troops which were with me. I sent *a man*, a Persian named Artavardiya, my servant, *to Persia as their commander over them. Then the rebel Persian troops* went with me *to Media.* Then Artavardiya 74. went to Persia with troops. Upon arrival *in Persia* at *the town* named Rakha in Persia ——— Vahyazdata who said, "I am Smerdis *son of Cyrus*", came with troops against Artavardiya to join battle ———. They *fought a* battle. Ahuramazda supported me. With the protection of Ahuramazda 75. my troops killed the troops of Vahyazdata, *who said "I am Smerdis".* On the 12th *day* of Aiaru they *fought a* battle. They killed *4404* of them and took alive [2 . . .]. Then that Vahyazdata fled with a small troop ——— on horse*back* 76. and went to *the province of* Pishikhumada. From *there* he mustered troops *and* came against Artavardiya to join battle.	Then I ⟨sent⟩ the ——— small troop [wh]ich was in Persia 39. [which had not rebe]lled [against me] and the Median troops which [wer]e with [me]. ⟨I sent⟩ ——— a Persian named Artavarziya, 40. [my servant, ——— *at the]ir* [*head*] *and* the r[est of the troops of] Persia and Med[ia] we[nt] with me ———. Then Artava[rziya 41. went to Persia with] tro[ops. Upon arriv]al ——— at (*a place*) named Rakha [in Persia *that* Vahyazda]ta who sai[d], "I am Sm[er]dis" ———, came [wi]th [troops 42. agai]nst [Artavarziya] to j[oi]n ba[tt]le *and* [they *joined*] ba[ttle]. Ahuramazda [su]pported me. With the [pro]tection of Ah[uramazda 43. m]y [troo]ps ki[lled] the troops [of Vahyazdata ——— ———. On the 12th ——— of Iyyar] they *joined* battle. They [ki]lled *35,404*(?) of them 44. [and took] alive . . . . [Then that Vahyazdata] fle[d with] a sm[all] troop *mounted* on horse*s* 45. [(and)] went to ——— Pishi]kh[uvada. From *that place* he mustered troops]. ——— He came agai[ns]t [A]rtavar[zi]ya to jo[in battle.

BISITUN

At a mountain *in Persia* named Parga—there they *fought a* battle. *Ahuramazda supported me. With the protection of Ahuramazda* my troops killed the troops

77. of Vahyazdata. *On* the *5th day* ——————— of Duuzu they *fought a* battle. They killed [6246?] of them and took alive [4464?].
They took *captive* Vahyazdata and the nobles who were with him.

Section 35
Thus says Darius the King:
Then I impaled Vahyazdata and all the nobles who (were) with him

78. in *the town named* Uvadaichaya in Persia.
There I killed *a* total *of*

[. . . 52?].

Section 36
Thus says Darius the King:
Then this province became mine.
This is what I did in Persia.

Section 37
Thus says Darius the King:
That Vahyazdata who said

79. "I am Smerdis son of Cyrus" had sent troops to Arachosia. And he sent a man *who was commander of them* against my servant, a Persian named Vivana, satrap of Arachosia, saying, "Go *and* kill Vivana and ———

80. the troops who obey Darius ————————".
Then the troops whom Vahyazdata had sent went against Vivana to join battle. *In the town named Kapishakana in*

ARAMAIC

46. At a moun]tain[——————— named Par]ga—[there they *joined* battle. ———————

——————— My troops killed the] troo[ps o]f [Vahyazda]ta. *In* the ——————— ——————— *month* of Ta[mmuz]

47. they *joined* battle. They killed [. . .] of th[em and took alive . . .].

48. They took ——————— Vahyazdata and the nobles who were wi[th him.

Then] ⟨I im⟩[paled Vahyazdata and all the nobles who (were) with him in ——————— Uvadaichaya in Persia].

49. *The* tot[al] *of killed and liv[ing which my troops* killed *and seized was*

50. ⟨. . .⟩]52.

This is what I [did] in Persia.

Paragraph 9
51. Thus says Darius the king: [That] Va[hyazdata who said "I am Smerdis son of Cyrus"] ⟨had sent⟩ [troops to Arachosia].

52. And [he sent] a man *at the[ir]* head [against my servant, a Persian named Vivana, satrap]

53. of Arachosia, saying, "Go, [kill Vivana and] ⟨*kill*⟩ [the troops who obey Darius *the king*]".

54. ——————— The troops whom Vahyazdata [had sent went against Vivana . . .? ? ? ? ? ? ?

BISITUN	ARAMAIC

<table>
<tr><td>

Arachosia—there they fought a battle.
Ahuramazda supported me. With the protection of Ahuramazda
81. my troops killed the rebel troops.
————

—————————. On the 13th *day* of Tebetu
they *fought a* battle. *The total killed and living of the troops whom Vahyazdata had sent was* [?]. *Then another time in the territory named Gandatamaki in Sattagydia they fought a battle.*
Ahuramazda supported me. With the protection of Ahuramazda
82. my troops killed the rebel troops.
On the 7th day of Addaru they fought a battle.
The total dead and living of the troops whom Vahyazdata had sent was 4579. *Then*
that man who was commander of the troops whom Vahyazdata had sent fled with a small
83. troop ————— on horse*back*
and went *near a town named* Arshada in the province of Arachosia, *the fortress of Vivana.* Then Vivana went against them with troops.
There he captured *him.* He killed him and ————— killed the nobles who were with him. The total of killed and living of *the troops of*
84. Vivana(?) —————————
————————————— was ⌜42..⌝.

Section 38
Thus says Darius the King:
Then *this* province became mine. This is what I did in *Sattagydia and* Arachosia.

</td><td>

? ? ? ?
? ?]
55. Ahuramazda supported me. [With the protection of Ahuramazda m]y [troops killed the rebel] tr[oops. *They killed*]
56. *457[9] of them [and took alive 3]76[+?].* [On the 13th ——— of Tebeth]
57. they *joined* battle. ——————
——————————————
——————————————
——————————————
——————————————
——————————————.

Ahuramazda su[pported me. With the protection of A]huramazda m[y] troops [killed] the ⟨rebel⟩ [troops.]
—————————.
58. *They killed* 4[579] *of them [and] took alive 3[76+? Then]*
59. that man who was commander o[f the troops whom Vahyazdata had sent ⟨f]led⟩ [with a s]mal[l] troop [*mounted* on horse*s*
60. (and) went (*toward*)] *the* [*fo*]*rtress* ————— Arshada in the pro[vince of Arachosia —————————
——————————. Then V]ivana [went against them] with troop[s.
61. There he captu]red [*that man*]. [He] kill[ed him and *they* ki]lled [the nobles who were with him]. The total of ki[lled and living of —————
62. Vahyazdata *which*] my [*arm*]*y killed* [*and captured* was ...]5.

Then [*the*] province [became mine. This is what I] di[d in —————
63. —— Ara]chosia.

</td></tr>
</table>

Despite the close correspondence between the Aramaic and Akkadian texts, a number of differences do exist and these may be divided into seven categories:

1. Aramaic additions

"[They killed] 827 [of them] and took alive [·]o6" (11, missing in Akk. line 50)
"(the fortress) named (Tigra)" (12, missing in Akk. line 51)
"Then (they fought . . .)" (15, missing in Akk. line 52)
"[which] my a[rm]y killed [and captured]" (62, missing in Akk. line 84)

2. Variant expressions

Akkadian	*Aramaic*
as many as had previously come to me to the palace of Babylon from Anshan (72)	as many as were in the palaces of 'lwk which is/are in [A]nshan (37)
the rebel Persian troops (73)	the r[est of the troops of] Persia and Med[ia] (40)
There I killed a total of [52?] (78)	The tot[al] killed and liv[ing which my troops killed and seized was . . .]+52 (49f)
The total dead and living of the troops whom Vahyazdata had sent was 4579 (82)	They killed 4[579] of them [and] took alive [376+?] (58)
he killed (83)	they killed (61)

3. Variant formulations of the same expression

Akkadian	*Aramaic*
in command of them (45, 73, 79)	at their head (3, 40, 52)
did not undertake an(other) expedition (47, 53, 57)	did not do anything (6, 17, 23)
fought a battle (49 ff, etc.)	joined battle (9ff, etc.)
for another expedition (50, 51, 55)	a second/third time (11, 15, 22)
sent orders (45, 54, 69)	said (3, 19, 31)
became leader (69)	they made king (30)
on horseback (75, 83)	mounted on horses (44, 59)
they took captive (77)	they took (48)

4. Variant casualty figures

Akkadian	*Aramaic*
546 killed (51)	504[6] killed (13)
⌜525?⌝ captured (53)	[?]o2 captured (17)
2045 killed (56)	2046 killed (23)
1558 captured (56)	1578 captured (23)
6572 captured (70)	6972 captured (34)
4404 killed (75)	35(?),404(?) killed (43)

5. Omissions

a. *Geographical designations*, occasionally redundant in Akk.
   in Media (4)
   in Armenia (23f)
   in Bactria and (35)
   to Persia (40)

to Media (40)

in Persia (41, 46)

in Kapishakana in Arachosia (54)

fortress of Vivana (60)

b. *Personal descriptions:*

who said "I am Khashatritti a descendant of Cyaxares, King of Media" (25)

king of lands (37)

son of Cyrus (41, 75)

who said "I am Smerdis" (43)

c. *Date formula:* the word "day"; the day (5th) of Tammuz (46); the full formula; "On the 7th of Adar they joined battle" (57)

d. *Single words:* ʾḥr (11, 15, 15, 22, 26, 54), šmḥ (8, 36, 48), zy (12, 16), ʿm ḥylʾ (15, 32), tmḥ (4), ʾyš ḥd (30, 36)

e. *The double Ahuramazda formula* (46)

f. *Part of concluding formula:* "Then this province became mine" (50)

6. Scribal omissions explicable by homoeoteleuton

a. and said, "Go, kill the rebels who do not obey me". Then Dadarshu went to Armenia. (8) (The scribe's eye skipped from *lʾrrṭ šlḥt* to *lʾrrṭ*)

b. Then they fought a battle in the territory of Izalla. Ahuramazda supported me. With the protection of Ahuramazda my troops killed the rebel troops. On the 15th of Tebet (21) (The scribe's eye skipped from *ʿbdw qrb* to *ʿbdw qrb*)

c. in the territory named Utiyari in Armenia. Ahuramazda supported me. With the protection of Ahuramazda my troops killed the rebel troops. (22) (The scribe's eye skipped from *b*+place to *b*+date)

d. which had previously come to me (37–38) (The scribe's eye skipped from *mn qdmn* to *mn qdmy*)

e. The total killed and living of the troops whom Vahyazdata had sent was [?]. Then another time in the territory named Gandatamaki in Sattagydia they joined battle. (57) (The scribe's eye skipped from *ʿbdw qrb* to *ʿbdw qrb*)

7. Textual corruption

The normal sequence in the Victory sections is: (a) Ahuramazda supported me; (b) With Ahuramazda's help PN killed the rebels; (c) Date; (d) Total killed and captured. In the (Kapishakana) battle (55–57) of Vivana, the sequence is *abdc*. Moreover, the number of killed (4570+) is virtually identical with the Akkadian number of "dead and living" (4579). The Aramaic "killed and captured" line would seem to be due to anticipatory error. In fact, the account of this campaign suffered other omissions (54, 57).

Before evaluating these differences, we must make a second comparison—that between the Aramaic text and the variant Akkadian text on the fragmentary stone display inscription discovered at Babylon and now in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (BE 3627=Berlin VA Bab. 1502). This text contains part of thirteen lines of two columns, equivalent to lines 55–58, 69–72 of the Bisitun text, and lines 22–26, 32–38 of the Aramaic text. The Babylon fragment differs from the Bisitun text in several particulars, especially in its consistent abridgement of the Ahuramazda formula (I 2–3, 13; II 1). In one of these passages (I 2–3) the full formula is omitted from the Aramaic, but as part of a longer omission explicable by homoeoteleuton (line 22; see above). What is noteworthy are the eight cases where the variants of the Babylon fragment correspond with those of the Aramaic text:

Bisitun	Babylon	Aramaic
1. in Armenia (57)	OMITTED (16)	OMITTED (23)
2. I am Khashatritti, a descendant of Cyaxares, King of Media (57)	I am —————————— —————————— —— King of Media (I 11)	COMPLETE STATEMENT OMITTED (25)
3. the rebel troops (70)	those [rebels] (II 2–3)	those [rebels] (33)
4. He killed Frada and the nobles who were with him— a total of ⌜46?⌝ (70)	OMITTED (II 3)	OMITTED (33)
5. took alive 6572 (20)	[took alive] 697[2] (II 4–5)	[took alive] 6972 (34)
6. king of lands (72)	PROBABLY OMITTED (II 10)	OMITTED (37)
7. as many as had previously come to me to the palace of Babylon from Anshan (72)	[as many as were] in [. . .?] *aluka* of the town of [. . .] (II 11)	as many as were in the palaces in ʾ*lwk* which is/are in [A]nshan (37)
8. to Vahyazdata (72)	to him (II 12)	[to] him (38)

Evaluating the evidence of these comparisons, we may draw some definite conclusions and make some further observations about the nature of the Aramaic text.

1. The Aramaic text does not bear merely "a superficial resemblance" to the Babylonian (contra Von Voigtlander, p. 67) but resembles it quite closely. In one instance, where it includes casualty figures omitted by the Babylonian scribe, it is even superior (Aramaic 11=Akk. 50).

2. The method of paragraphing by leaving space and the variations in the use of the "Thus says King Darius" formula indicate independent Aramaic scribal practice.

3. The five scribal omissions explicable by homoeoteleuton do not preclude the possibility that the original Aramaic text from which our late fifth century version was copied corresponded to the Akkadian in those passages.

4. Comparison of the Babylon fragment and Aramaic text with the Bisitun text indicates that both the former are a slightly variant and abridged version of the original. While the Babylon fragment and Aramaic text are not identical, the coincidence of many of their variants indicates a certain interdependence.

5. The outstanding feature of the abridged Aramaic and Babylon fragment texts is the omission of geographical locations for an act (e.g. whether in Armenia, Media, or Persia) and characterizations of a rebel (e.g. "who said 'I am Smerdis'").

6. The fragmentary state of the final column and the partial restoration which is possible suggest a variant tradition for the concluding paragraphs.

7. The Aramaic version through Paragraph 9 has no OP loan-words and only three Akk. loan-words (*mt, phh, nphr*), the first two of which had been generally accepted into Aramaic. Thus the text would have been understood by the ordinary Aramaic speaker or reader. The unit from DNb. Par. 9 incorporated into Paragraph 10 contains one Akk. loan (*mskn*) and two OP loans (*prtr* and ʾ*ymnš*) and is of different origin from the rest of the text.

IV. Outline of the Aramaic Text

The inscription itself consists of varying combinations of fixed formulae arranged in set patterns and easily outlined. Taking our cue from the Akkadian version, we outline the text below, setting restored material in italics and enclosing missing material in brackets. The beginning of the outline, through IB2b, has not been restored and is set in small caps. Probable reasons for omissions are marked in the margin.

I. MEDIAN CAMPAIGN OF VIDARNA (1–7; Para. 1)
    A. OPENING FORMULAE: THUS SAYS DARIUS THE KING
    B. REVOLT OF PHRAORTES

1. ANNOUNCEMENT OF PHRAORTES
   a. AROSE
   b. LIED: I AM KHASHATRITTI etc.
2. REBELLION OF MEDIAN TROOPS (1)
   a. REBELLED FROM ME
   b. WENT OVER TO HIM
   c. *He became king in Media* (1)

ABRIDGMENT

C. Dispatch of Vidarna to Media (2–3)
   1. *Troops with Darius are few* (2)
   2. *I sent* troops *to Media* (2)
   3. *headed by Vidarna* (2–3)
   4. *I said: Go, kill the rebels* who do *not* obey me (3)
D. Battle at Maru on 27 Tebeth (3–6)
   1. Battle (3–4)
      a. *Then Vidarna went to Media with troops* (3)
      b. *Upon arrival in Media* at Maru [in Media] (3–4)
      c. *he joined* battle *with the Medes* (4)
      d. Commander of the *Medes* was *absent* (4)
   2. Victory (4–6)
      a. *Ahuramazda supported me* (4)
      b. *With* Ahuramazda's *aid killed those rebels* (4–5)
      c. *On 27 Tebeth joined battle* (5)
      d. *Killed 3827(?) and captured 4329(?)* (5–6)
E. Conclusion (6–7)
   a. *Then Vidarna did nothing* (6)
   b. They *waited in* Kampanda *in* Media *until I came to* Media (7)
   c. *Then they came to me at Ecbatana* (7)

II. Armenian Campaign of Dadarshu (8–18; Para. 2–3)
   A. Opening Formula: *Thus says Darius* the King (8)
   B. Dispatch of Dadarshu to Armenia (8)
      1. *I sent my servant* Dadarshu, *an Armenian, to Armenia* (8)
      [2. I said: Go, kill the rebels who do not obey me]

HOMOEO-
TELEUTON

   C. Battle at Zuzu on 8 Iyyar (8–11)
      1. Battle (8–9)
         [a. Then Dadarshu went to Armenia]
         b. *Upon arrival in Armenia, rebels r*allied (8)
         c. *Went* against *Dadarshu* to join *battle* (9)
         d. *Then joined battle at Zuzu, fortress in Armenia* (9)
      2. Victory (10–11)
         a. *Ahura*mazda supported me (10)
         b. With Ahuram*azda's* aid *killed rebels* (10)
         c. *On 8 Iyyar joined battle* (10–11)
         d. *Killed 827* and captured [?]o6 (11)
   D. Battle at Tigra on 18 Iyyar (11–14)
      1. Battle (11–12)
         a. Again, rebels rall*ied* (11)
         b. *Went against Dadarshu* to join battle (11–12)
         c. *T*hen joined battle *at* Tigra, fortress in Armenia (12)
      2. Victory (12–14)

a.   Ahuramazda supported *me* (12)
    b.   *With Ahuramazda's aid* killed rebels (12–13)
    c.   On 18 Iyyar joined battle (13)
    d.   Killed 5046 *and captured 520* (13–14)
  E.   Battle at Uyama on 9 Sivan (15–18; Para. 3)
    1.   Battle (15–16)
      a.   *Again, rebels* rallied (15)
      b.   Went again*st* Dadarshu to join battle (15)
      c.   Then joined battle at Uyama, *fortress in Armenia* (15–16)
    2.   Victory (16–17)
      a.   *Ahura*mazda supported me (16)
      b.   With Ahur*amazda's* aid *k*illed re*b*els (16)
      c.   On 9 *Sivan joined battle* (16–17)
      d.   *Killed* 472 and captur*ed* [?]02 (17)
  F.   Conclusion (17–18)
    1.   Then Dadarshu did *nothing* (17)
    2.   Waite*d until I came to Med*ia (17–18)
III.   Armenian Campaign of Vaumisa (19–24; Para. 4–5)
  A.   Opening Formula: *Thus says Darius the King* (19)
  B.   Dispatch of Vaumisa to Armenia (19–20)
    1.   I se*nt* my servant Vaumisa a Persian *to Armenia* (19)
    2.   I said: Go, *kill* those rebels *who do not obey me* (19–20)
  C.   Battle [in Izalla on 15 Tebet] (20–21)
    1.   Battle (20–21)
      a.   Then Vaumisa went to Armenia (20)
      b.   Upon arrival, rebels rallied (20)
      c.   Wen*t against Vaumisa to join battle* (20–21)

      [d.   Then joined battle in Izalla]
    2.   Victory (21)
      [a.   Ahuramazda supported me]
      [b.   With Ahuramazda's aid killed rebels]
      [c.   On 15 Tebet] *joined batt*le
      d.   Killed 2034
  D.   Battle [in Utiyari] on 30 Iyyar (22–23; Para. 5)
    1.   Battle (22)
      a.   *Again, re*bels rallied
      b.   We*nt* against Vaumisa to join battle
      c.   *J*oined battle [in Utiyari]
    2.   Victory (22–23)
      [a.   Ahuramazda supported me]
      [b.   With Ahuramazda's aid killed rebels]
      c.   *On 30* Iyyar joi*ned battle* (22)
      d.   *Killed 2046 and* captured 1578 (23)
  E.   Conclusion (23–24)
    1.   Then Va*umi*sa *did no*thing (23)
    2.   Waited [in Armenia] *till I came to Media* (23–24)
IV.   Darius' Median Campaign against Phraortes (25–28; Para. 6)
  A.   Opening Formula: *Thus says Darius the King* (25)
  B.   Battle at Kundur on 25 Nisan (25–28)

HOMOEO-
TELEUTON

HOMOEO-
TELEUTON

;RIDGMENT

18

   c. Went over *to* him (38)

   d. He *became king in Persia* (38)

  C. Dispatch of Artavarziya to Persia (38–40)

   a. I sent *loyal* troops (38–39)

   b. *headed* by Artavarziya [to Persia] (39–40)

   c. R*est* of Persian and Media*n troops* we*nt* with me [to Media] (40)

  D. Battle at Rakha on 12 Iyyar (40–44)

   1. Battle (40–42)

    a. Then Artava*rziya went to Persia with troops* (40–41)

    b. *Upon arriva*l [in Persia] at Rakha *in Persia* (41)

    c. *that Vahyazda*ta who sai*d*, "I am Sm*e*rdis [son of Cyrus]" (41)

    d. Came *with troops agai*nst *Artavarziya* to jo*i*n ba*ttl*e (41–42)

    e. *Joined* ba*ttle* (42)

   2. Victory (42–44)

    a. Ahuramazda *s*upported me (42)

    b. With Ah*uramazda's a*i *ki*l*led Vahyazdata's* troops (42–43)

    c. *On 12 Iyyar* joined battle (43)

    d. *Ki*lled 35,404(?) *and cap*tured [?] (43–44)

  E. Flight and Battle at Mt. Parga on [5] Tammuz (44–50)

   1. Battle (44–46)

    a. Then Vahyazdata fle*d* (44)

    b. Went to *Pishi*kh*uvada* (45)

    c. *Rallied troops* (45)

    d. Came agai*ns*t *A*rtavar*ziya* to jo*in battle* (45)

    e. *Joined battle at* M*t.* Par*ga* [in Persia] (46)

   2. Victory (46–47)

    [a. Ahuramazda supported me]

    [b. With Ahuramazda's aid] *killed Vahyazda*ta's troo*p*s (46)

    c. In Ta*mmuz* joined battle (46–47)

    d. Killed [?] and *captured* [?] (47)

   3. Capture and Impalement of Vahyazdata and nobles (48–50)

    a. Seized Vahyazdata and nobles (48)

    b. *Im*paled *Vahyazdata and nobles in Uvadaichaya* (48–49)

    c. Tota*l* of killed and cap*tured*—[?]+52 (49–50)

  F. Conclusion (50)

   [a. Then province became mine]

   b. This is what I *did* in Persia (50)

 VIII. Arachosian Campaign of Vivana (51–63; Para 9)

  A. Opening Formula: Thus says Darius the King (51)

  B. Dispatch by Vahyazdata to Arachosia (51–54)

   1. *That* Va*hyazdata who said, "I am Smerdis"* etc. (51)

   2. sent *troops to Arachosia* (51–52)

   3. and *sent* the*ir* leader *against Vivana* (52)

   4. saying, Go, *kill* Vivana *and the troops who obey Darius* (53–54)

  C. Battle [in Kapishakana] on 13 Tebet (54–57)

   1. Battle (54)

    a. Troops which Vahyazdata *sent* (54)

    b. *went against Vivana*...(?) (54)

V. Some Notes on the Language of the Aramaic Bisitun Text

The distinction between Eastern and Western Aramaic may be discerned in the plentiful Aramaic material discovered in Egypt. Official Aramaic is written in the Eastern dialect and the Bisitun inscription provides a good example of this. However, the Aramaic Bisitun inscription was prepared in close conjunction with the Akkadian version and shares with it certain syntactic features.

Among the features that characterize Eastern Aramaic are:

1. for the genitive, the use of noun+*zy* rather than the construct form, e.g. *ḥyl' zy* GN/PN rather than *ḥyl* GN/PN (26, 37, 39, 40, 46); *pḥt' zy* rather than *pḥt* GN/PN (31, 52f.).

2. possession expressed by noun+*zyl* . . rather than by possessive suffix, e.g. *ḥyl' zyly* (5, 13, 16, 33, 43, etc.) with only one exception *'ylmy* [error for *'lymy*] (l. 19).

3. the use of the proleptic suffix: noun plus possessive suffix plus *zy* PN e.g. *bṭlh zy 'hwrmzd* (10, 12f., etc.); *l'rqh zy* PN (12, 15, 20); *brh zy* PN (37); *lḥylh zy* PN (43).

4. the object usually precedes the verb although there are cases where the object comes after the verb, especially but not always in the expressions *'bdw qrb/qrb'* (12, 13, 15) and *qṭlw lmrdy'* (13, 33).

5. the object follows the infinitive, e.g. *lm'bd qrb* (9, 12, 15).

6. the loss of the determinative force of the definite article as seen in *'bdw qrb'* (12, 22, 43, 47) rather than *'bdw qrb* (13, 15, 21, 32, 33, 57).

7. The presence of *npḥr* "total" an Akkadian loanword found only in this text.

Many of the features, especially Nos. 1, 2, 3 are shared with Akkadian. Similarly the word order: subject verb, e.g. *mrdy' 'tknšw* (11, 20, 22); *'hwrmzd s'dny* (12, 16, 26, etc.) is identical with the Akkadian. The orthography of this text is on the whole conservative: *zy* rather than *dy*; *qrq* "to flee" rather than *'rq* as usual in later Aramaic. The only inconsistency is the single occurrence of *l'r'h* "towards him" (l. 9) alongside the usual *l'rqh* (12, 15, 20, 22).

TRANSLITERATION OF ARAMAIC TEXT

ȧ – letter partly effaced

å – letter extensively effaced

1. [. . .   ʾḥr hw mlk bmdy]

2. [hwh ḥylʾ p]rsy[ʾ wmdyʾ zy ʿmy zʿyr hwh ʾḥr] ḥyl[ʾ lmdy šlḥt wdrn šmh ʿlymy prsy]

3. [brʾšḥwm] ʾ[mrt ʾzl qṭl lḥylʾ zy mdy zy lʾ]s̊mʿn ly[ʾḥr wdrn ʿm ḥylʾ ʾzl lmdy lmmṭh mdy]

4. b̊mr̊[š]mḣ q̊r̊b̊[ʾ ʿbd ʿm ḥylʾ zy mdy zy ʿl md]yʾ rbḥẘ[h lʾ hwh tmh ʾh]wr[mzd sʿdny bṭlh]

TRANSLATION

⟨ ⟩ – word shifted from line above or below for felicity of translation

Col 1 (IV of original scroll)

Paragraph 1

1. [Then he ⟨became⟩ king of Media.
2. The Pe]rsian [and Median troops with me were few. Then I sent] troop[s to Media. My servant, a Persian named Vidarna,
3. was at their head. I] s[aid, "Go, kill the troops of Media who do not] obey me". [Then Vidarna went to Media with troops. Upon arrival in Media,
4. at (a place) [na]med Maru, [he joined] battl[e with the troops of Media. He who] wa[s] commander [of the Med]es [was not there. Ah]ura[mazda supported me. With the protection

COMMENTARY

The column line number in parentheses refers to Cowley's numeration. The number in parentheses following the Akk. text always refers to that text. Otherwise, the line numbers refer to the Aramaic text.

Col 1 (IV of original scroll)
Sachau Papyrus 70 (Plate 57, Nos. 1–16)=P. 13447 Kol. I (Pls. I, Figs. 1, 4; II, VII, XI).

Paragraphs 1–2

Cowley built up a text on the basis of three fragments in Plate 57 (Nos. 1, 3, 7) but relegated it to the notes. He felt that "the details may not all be correct" because his text was shorter than the Akkadian. In fact, virtually all of the fragments in this Plate (Nos. 1–4, 7, 9, 12–16) may be incorporated into a restored text which corresponds closely with the Akkadian.

1.   The beginning of this line would have read something like the following: *'ḥr ḥyl' mdy' kmst zy bbty' mn qdmy mrdw 'l prwrt* [or *'lwhy*] *'zlw* on the basis of the comparable terminology in ll. 37f. In both passages Akk. has singular *bītu*, "palace" (Akk. ll. 43, 72).

1–2.   [*'ḥr hw mlk bmdy hwh*], "[Then he became king of Media]"=Akk. *arki šû ana šar Madaya ittūr* (l. 44); cf. l. 38.

2.   [*ḥyl' p*]*rsy*['* wmdy' zy 'my z'yr hwh*], "[The Pe]rsian [and Median troops with me were few]". Akk. (l. 44) has *uqu ša ittiya ša* KUR *Parsu u* KUR *Madaya īṣutu*, "The troops of Persia and Media who were with me were few". This is the form which the Aramaic takes below—[*ḥyl' zy*]*prs wmd*[*y*] (l. 40). The variant form derives from Pl. 57, No. 15 which may be placed here. (Further examination of the papyrus reveals unexpected writing on the verso and so the fragment may not belong here.) In the middle of the line we have the beginning of fragment Pl. 57, No. 1.
[*'ḥr*] *ḥyl*['* lmdy šlḥt*], "[Then I sent] troop[s to Media]"=Akk. *arki anāku uqu altapar ana Madaya* (l. 44). For the word order, direct object–indirect object–verb, cf. l. 19, "Vaumisa [to Armenia] I sent".

3.   '[*mrt*], "[I] s[aid]". The *aleph* is in the second line of fragment No. 15.
[*zy l' *]*šm'n ly*, "[who do not] obey me"=Akk. *ša la išemmū'inni* (l. 45); cf. below ll. 19f, 32; also l. 53.
[*lmmṭh*], "[upon arrival]". The Aramaic form is infinitive of root *mṭy*, and corresponds to Akk. *ana kašādu* (l. 45); cf. 8, 20, 25, 41 ([*lmm*]*ṭ'*).

4.   Here belongs the first line of Pl. 57, fragment 13 and here begins the top of Pl. 57, fragment 3, *bmr*[*š*]*mh*, "at (a place) [na]med Maru". The first two letters on the second fragment are *mem he* (so Sachau contra Cowley who read *mem resh waw*); Sachau and Cowley incorrectly read the first fragment as *bprt*.
qrb[*' 'bd*], "battl[e he joined]"=Akk. *ṣeltu ītepšu* (l. 46). The expression in this order—object: verb—occurs again only in l. 42. Sachau read the first letter as *shin* and Cowley read the first two as *shin mem*. But the letter traces seem to indicate *qoph resh beth*, which accord with the continuity of the Akk. text.
[*zy 'l md*]*y' rb hw*[*h*], "[He who] wa[s] commander [of the Med]es"=Akk. *ša ina muḫḫi* LÚ *Madaya rabû* (l. 46). The Aramaic is somewhat problematic because *rbhw*[is written as one word. We might imagine *rbhwm*, "their commander", but that would be syntactically awkward. Cowley (p. 270, l. 4) gave *rbh* without explanation; cf. *rb hwh* in l. 59.

5.   [z]y 'ḥwrmzd, "[o]f Ahuramazda". Part of the *yod* is visible on the bottom of fragment No. 13; part of the *aleph*, the complete *he*, and part of the *waw* are found at the top of fragment No. 2; the rest of the divine name in line 2 of fragment 3.

6.   The restored text strongly suggests 5000. Following [b]hm there are three strokes (No. 2, line 2); in No. 3, line 3 there are the remains of one and most likely two strokes preceding the *lamed*. The Akk. number of killed is partially uncertain and Mrs. Von Voigtlander suggested [3? LIM] 8 ⌐ME 27⌐ (3827) and noted "[3? LIM] is crossed by a flaw and badly damaged." The rest of the number has been restored according to the Akk. (l. 47).
['ḥr wdrn bmdy mn]dʿm l' ʿ[bd], "[Then Vidarna] did not d[o any]thing [in Media]". For this formula cf. lines 17, 23 below. The corresponding Akk. idiom (Akk. l. 47) differs—"Then Vidarna did not undertake another expedition against Media".—Here begins the top of Pl. 57, No. 4.

7.   [b]ḥnbn, "[in] Kampanda". Part of the left leg of the *ḥeth* is preserved; the first *nun* is clear; the *beth* is most probable; the final *nun* is likely. The word is in the third line of fragment No. 2. Until recently the generally accepted, yet uncertain reading of the Akk. (l. 47) was *Ḥa–am–ba–nu*, but von Voigtlander (p. 24) has argued for ⌐Ka⌐–am–pa–da–ʾ. According to her the first section of the *ka* is faint, *am* is clear and is followed by *pa*, and *da* should be read instead of *ba–nu*. The OP has Kapada, read by Kent and others as Kampanda, while the Elamite has *Qa–um–pan–taš*.
[b]ḥnbn [zy b]mdy [tmh mkt]rn ly, "They were [wai]ting for me [there in] Kampanda [in] Media". Akkadian has *ina* URU *Kampada ša ina* KUR *Madaya ina libbi idaggalū pāniya*. There is not enough room in the Aramaic text for *brt'*, "fortress" after Kampanda. We had wanted to find the first two letters of *mktrn ly* in line 2 of Pl. 57, No. 8 but the fibres and colour did not match (so M. Krutzsch). The last four letters come from Pl. 57, No. 7 which begins here. Sachau was correct in restoring *mdy* at the beginning of the line (contra Cowley's [ʿ]bdy).
[ʿd zy 'nh 'zl lmdy], "[until I should come to Media]"=Akk. *adi muḫḫi ša anāku allaku ana* KUR *Madaya* (l. 47); cf. ll. 18, 23f.
['ḥr 'zlw ʿly l'ḥmtn], "[Then they came to me at Ecbatana]"=Akk. *arki ana* URU *Agamatana pānīyā illikū* (l. 48). This concluding sentence of Paragraph 1 ends before the right edge of fragment Pl. 57, No. 4. Thus the space in that fragment between its lines 1 and 2 is blank.

Paragraph 2

8.   [kn ']mr, "[Thus sa]ys". Here begins the top of Pl. 57, No. 14. The bottom restores [d]drš, "[Da]darshu" in l. 9.
The Aramaic omits "I said, 'Go, kill the rebels who do not obey me'. Then Dadarshu went to Armenia". The scribe's eye skipped from *l'rrt šlḥt* to *l'rrt*.
[']tknšw, "[r]allied". See note on line 11.

9.   ['zlw]lʿrʿh zy[d]drš, "[They went] against [Da]darshu"=Akk. *ana tarṣi Dadaršu ittalkū* (l. 49). The term *lʿrʿh*, usually *lʿrqh* (ll. 12, 15, 20, 22, 26, 42, 45, 52, 60), is a compound preposition with 3 m. sg. anticipatory suffix. The spelling *lʿrqh* is archaizing.
b'rrt, "in Armenia". Here the bottom of fragment No. 4 joins the top of No. 16.

10. [ʾḥwr]mzd sʿdny bṭlh zy ʾḥwrm[zd ḥylʾ zyly qṭlw lḥylʾ mrdyʾ b 8 lʾ]yr[ʿbdw]

10. [Ahura]mazda supported me. With the protection of Ahuram[azda my troops killed the rebel troops. On the 8th of Iy]yar [they joined

10. [*'hwr*]*mzd s'dny*, "[Ahura]mazda supported me"=Akk. *Urimazda issēdannu*. According to von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, 1034 (cf. *Orientalia* 46 [1977], 194, No. 132), *sēdu* is borrowed from *s'd*.

[*l'*]*yr*, "[of Iy]yar". The last two letters of the month-name are in the second line of fragment No. 16.

Five fragments from Plate 57 could not be placed in the reconstructed column:

Fragment No. 5

1.] · [Sachau read the sign as *yod* but it may also be *aleph*.
2.] · · [

Fragment No. 6

1.   ·

    vacat

2. *zy*   Sachau read the signs as *aleph*

There is a 2.2 cm. blank space between the curved tip of a letter at the upper edge and the signs in l. 2. This indicates a paragraph division or the end of a line because the 0.8 cm. width of the fragment is greater than the normal space between words.

Fragment No. 8

1.] · · · · [
2.]*m* · [Cowley read *'ḥ*[*r*

We had wanted to incorporate this piece into ll. 6–7 of the main text but M. Krutzsch asserts that the fibres do not match and the colour on the verso is different from that of No. 14, above which we tried to place it.

Fragment No. 10

1.] · *ṭ*   Sachau read · *b*

Fragment No. 11

    vacat

1.]/ 100// /[There could either be two or five strokes missing at the right edge.

2.]*dw*[One could restore *'bdw* or *mrdw*

The 2.6 cm. blank space at the top is perplexing. Numerals in the 100's are not normally found at the beginning of paragraphs. Could this have come from the beginning of the column? Yet there are no large casualty figures in the Akk. text prior to Akk. l. 47=Aramaic l. 6.

11. [qrb' qṭlw bhm] 827 wḥyn 'ḥdw [. .] o6 btrty rgly' mrdy' 'tknš[w 'zlw]
12. [l'rqh zy ddrš]lm'bd qrb[']ḥr 'bdw qrb' [b]ṭgr šmh brt' b'rrṭ 'ḥwrmzd s'dn[y bṭlh]
13. [zy 'ḥwrmzd ḥyl' zy]ly qṭlw lmrdy' b 18 l'yr 'bdw qrb qṭlw bhm 5 lp o4[6]
14. [wḥyn 'ḥdw 520]
15. [bṭlty mrdy']' tknšw 'zlw l'rq[h] zy ddrš lm'bd qrb 'ḥr 'bdw qrb bhyw [šmh]

Col 2 (V of original scroll)

Paragraph 2 (cont.)

11. battle. They killed] 827 [of them] and took alive [·]o6. A second time the rebels
(1) rall[ied; they went
12. against Dadarshu] to join battle. [T]hen they joined battle [at] the fortress named
(2) Tigra in Armenia. Ahuramazda supported [me. With the protection
13. of Ahuramazda m]y [troops] killed the rebels. On the 18th of Iyyar they joined
(3) battle. They killed 504[6] of them
14. [and took alive 520].
(0)

Paragraph 3

15. [A third time the rebels] rallied; they went again[st] Dadarshu to join battle. Then
(4) they joined battle at [the ⟨fortress⟩ named] Uyama

Col 2 (V of original scroll)

Sachau Papyrus 61 *recto* (Plate 52)=P. 13447 Kol. II (Pls. I, Figs. 1, 5; III, VIII, XII–XIII).

Paragraph 2 (cont.)

11. This is the only occasion where the Aramaic has a killed-captured statistic missing from the Akk.
(1) There is room in the gap for one or two strokes preceeding the "100" sign of the number captured—thus either 106 or 206.

btrty rgly᾽, "a second time". Sachau read the second word as *dgly᾽* and took it with the following word as "rebellious regiments". Cowley noticed that *mrdy᾽* alone indicates "rebels" and construed the phrase as herein. The reading and meaning remain problematic and Cowley's reference to *šlš rglym* (Ex. 23: 14) is of limited help. Akk. has *ina šanītu ḫarrānu*, "for another expedition".

᾽tknš[w ᾽zlw], "rall[ied, went]". Unlike the Akk. *ipḫurūnima ittalkū* (l. 50), "rallied and went", the Aramaic is asyndetic. Such a construction is rare in Aramaic texts but common in Syriac. The root *knš* regularly translates Biblical Hebrew *᾽sp*, frequently used in a military context in *niphal* (Gen. 34:30; Josh. 10:5; Ju. 6:33; etc.) and in *qal* (Ju. 11:20; I Sam. 17:1; etc.). For restoration of *peal* in our text see l. 45; otherwise, the root occurs, as here, in *ithpeal* (ll. 8f, 15, 20, 22).

12. *lm῾bd qrb . . . ῾bdw qrb᾽*, "to join battle . . . They joined *the* battle". The Aramaic sometimes dis-
(2) tinguishes between the indeterminate *qrb* after the infinitive *lm῾bd*, and the determinative *qrb᾽* after the finite verb *῾bd* (12, 22, 43, 47). This distinction may be justified on purely Aramaic grounds but it may also be reflected in the distinction in the Akkadian between *ana epēš tāḫaza* (verb and noun in genitival relationship), "to join battle", and *ītepšū ṣaltu* (verb and nominal object), "they fought a battle"; cf. too on l. 22.

[b]tgr šmh brt᾽ b᾽rrṭ, "[at] the fortress named Tigra in Armenia". The same topographical formula may be restored in ll. 9, 15f. On at least four occasions the scribe omitted the word *brt᾽* (ll. 7, 25, 41, 48). In one instance, *šmh* follows the name of the province rather than the fortress (l. 36). Cf. too for the use of *šmh*, ll. 30, 46. The forms *šumšu* in Akk. and *nāma* in OP occur in similar usage, but the questions of origin and possible borrowing remain moot.

brt᾽, "the fortress". Note the *scripta defectiva*.

13. *[ḥyl᾽] . . . qtlw*, "[troops] . . . killed". Note the use of plural verb with singular collective noun.
(3) *qtlw lmrdy᾽*, "killed the rebels". The *l* as accusative marker is normal in Aramaic (cf. l. 16, 53, 55) but is sometimes omitted in this expression (l. 46). The Akk. equivalent *ana nikrūtu iddūkū* (l. 51) must have been based upon an Aramaic model. The sentence order here is subject-verb-object (*ḥyl᾽-qtlw-lmrdy᾽*) as in ll. 33, 46, 57f; the same sentence also appears in the order subejct-object-verb (*ḥyl᾽-lmrdy᾽-qtlw*) in l. 16, or simply object-verb (*ḥyl᾽-qtlw*) in ll. 53f.

/// ///lp, "5 thousand". The *aleph* is dropped from the noun and the last two digits prefixed to the remaining *lp*, (cf. ll. 6, 21, 23, 27, 34, 56, 58). While the Aramaic had the number *504[6]*, the Akkadian had only 546.

14. *[wḥyn ᾽ḥdw 520]*, "[and took alive 520]". Missing from Cowley's reconstruction, this line is re-
(0) stored on the basis of the Akkadian. Its length of ca. 7.5 cm. is just the amount of space missing at the beginning of each line.

Paragraph 3

15. *[btlty]*, "[a third time]", in divergence from the Akk. *ina šanītum ḫarrānu*, "for another expedition"
(4) (l. 51), but in agreement with the Old Persian.

16. [brt' b'rrt 'hwr]mzd s'dny bṭlh zy 'hw[rmzd] ḥyl' zyly lmr[d]y' [q]ṭlw b 9 [lsywn]

17. ['bdw qrb qṭlw b]hm 472 wḥyn 'ḥd[w . . .]o2 'ḥr ddrš mn[d'm l]' 'byd mkṭ[r ly]

18. ['d zy 'nh 'zl lmd]y

19. [dryhwš mlk' kn 'm]r whwms [š]mh 'ylmy prsy [l'rrṭ] šl[ḥt] 'mrt 'zl ḥ[yl]' zk mrdy' [zy l']

20. [šm'n ly qṭl] 'ḥr whwms 'zl l'rrṭ lmmṭh mrd[y]' 'tknšw 'zl[w l'rqh zy] wh[wms]

21. [lm'bd qrb 'bdw qr]b qṭl bhm 2 lp o34

22. [bṭrty rgly' mr]dy' 'tknšw '[z]lw l'rqh zy whmws lm'bd qrb[']bdw qrb' [b 30]l'yr 'b[dw qrb]

23. [qṭlw bhm 2 lp o4]6 [w]ḥyn 'ḥdw 1 lp 578 'ḥr wh[wm]s mnd'm [l' 'bd m]kṭr ly['d zy]

16. [in Armenia. Ahura]mazda supported me. With the protection of Ahu[ramazda]
(5) my troops [k]illed the re[b]els. On the 9th of [Sivan

17. they joined battle. They killed] 427 [of] them and too[k] alive [·]o2. Then Dadar-
(6) shu did n[ot] do any[thing.] He was wait[ing for me

18. until I should come to Med]ia.
(o)

Paragraph 4

19. [Thus say]s [Darius the King]: I se[nt] my servant, a Persian [na]med Vaumisa
(7) [to Armenia]. I said, "Go, [⟨kill⟩] that rebel t[roo]p [which does not

20. obey me]". Then Vaumisa went to Armenia. Upon arrival, the rebe[l]s rallied; they
(8) wen[t against] Va[umisa

21. to join battle. They joined batt]le. He killed 2034 of them.
(9)

Paragraph 5

22. [A second time the reb]els rallied; they we[n]t against Vaumisa to join battle. They
(10) [jo]ined battle. [On the 30th] of Iyyar they joi[ned battle].

23. [They killed 204]6 [of them and] took alive 1578. Then Va[umi]sa [did not do]
(11) anything. He [was w]aiting for me [until

15-16. *bhyw* [*šmh brt' b'rrṭ*], "at [the fortress named] Uyama [in Armenia]" accords exactly with the
(4-5) Akkadian, and *brt'* fits the required space (contra Cowley).

17. "too[k] alive [.]o2". The Aramaic sign for 100 is present in the text. Missing are strokes indicating
(6) the number of hundreds; these could be two or three, thus yielding 202 or 302. In the Akk. the
number of hundreds is unclear but the tens clearly show 25.
mn[*d'm l*]' *'byd*, "did n[ot] do any[thing]". The equivalent Akk. is *ḫarrāna la ēpuš*, "did not
undertake an expedition". As written with a *yod*, the form *'byd* is passive; Cowley suggests
scribal error for active *'bd*. However, the passive form is used in later Eastern Aramaic with
active meaning, cf. too l. 66.

17-18 *mkt*[*r ly 'd zy 'nh 'zl lmd*]*y*, "he was wait[ing for me until I should come to Med]ia", in accord-
(6-o) ance with the Akk. and the Old Persian. The last five words fit the missing space at the beginning
of l. 18. These words were missing from Cowley's restoration, which left the space between lines
17 and 19 (his lines 6 and 7) blank. *'zl*=Akk. *allaku* (l. 53) is future (cf. C 30:27).

Paragraph 4

19. *'ylmy*, "my servant", scribal spelling error for *'lymy*.
(7) The word order here is direct object (*whwms*)—indirect object ([*l'rrṭ*])—verb (*šl*[*ḥt*]).
ḥ[*yl*]' *zk*, "that t[roo]p". The use of the demonstrative with deictic element in referring to a
person or object previously mentioned is a regular feature of Official Aramaic (C 5:4, 6:7, 9:4
etc; 26:22, 27:6, 8 etc.) and is found here in ll. 5, 25, 33, 41, 44, 51, 59, 61.

20. [*šm'n ly*], "[obey me]", (restored according to l. 3 above)=Akk. *ša la išemmū'inni* (l. 54); cf.
(8) ll. 32, 53.

21. [*lm'bd*], "[to join (battle)]", to appear at the beginning of l. 21 (=Cowley l. 9) and not at the end
(9) of l. 20 (=Cowley l. 8). Contra Cowley *'ḥr* is to be omitted and the fourth word in the restor-
ation is *qrb*. The bottom stroke of the *beth* is clearly visible at the edge of the papyrus. Aramaic
omits "Then they fought a battle in the territory of Izalla. Ahuramazda supported me. With the
protection of Ahuramazda my troops killed the rebel troops. On the 15th day of Tebetu", explic-
able as homoeoteleuton. The scribe's eye would have skipped from one *'bdw qrb* to the next.
"he killed 2043", i.e., Vaumisa. The number is identical with the Akk.

Paragraph 5

22. *whmws*—scribal error for *whwms*.
(10) Aramaic omits "in the territory named Utiyari in Armenia" as well as both Ahuramazda formu-
lae. The Aramaic omission may be explained by homoeoteleuton, the scribe's eye skipping from
b[+place] to *b*[+date]. The Berlin fragment 3627, Col 1, l. 6 omits "in Armenia" and it need not
be restored in our text.
'b[*dw qrb*] restored here rather than Cowley's *qrb'* because of spacing. Moreover, in the pre-
served text, *'bd(w) qrb* appears six times (ll. 13, 15, 21, 32, 33, 57) whereas *'bdw qrb'* appears only
four times (ll. 12, 22, 43, 47).

23. There seems to be the trace of a third digit stroke as recorded by Sachau and contra Cowley.
(11) The number killed would thus be one more than the Akk.—2046, rather than 2045.
"took alive 1575[+3]"=1578, unlike Akk. which has 1558. Unfortunately, the number in
Berlin fragment BE 3627 is illegible just at this spot.

24. [*'nh 'zl lmdy*]

25. [*dryhwš mlk' kn 'mr 'ḥr mn bb*]*l* [*np*]*q̊t 'zl m̊*[*dy*] *l̊mm̊t̊h̊ mdy bkndẘr̊ šmh bmd̊*[*y* *prw*]*r̊t zk* °[*m ḥyl'*]

26. [*'zl l'rqy lm'bd qrb 'bdn qrb' 'ḥwr*]*m̊*[*zd s*] *'dn̊y b̊t̊*[*l*]*h̊ zy 'ḥwrmzd ḥyl' zy* [*prwrt q*]*t̊l̊t̊ b̊*[25]

27. [*lnysn 'bdn qrb qtlt bhm* 3 × 10,000 4 *lp* 42]5 [*wḥyn*] *'ḥdt* 1 × 10,000 8 *lp* 01[·   ]

28. [   ] *ḥy*[   ]

29. [*'ḥr*] *m̊t' ly ḥ̊wt znh zy bprtw 'bdt*

24. I should come to Media].
(o)

Paragraph 6

25. [Thus says Darius the King: Then I le]ft [Babylo]n (and) went to Me[dia]. Upon
(12) arrival in Media, at (a place) named Kundur in Med[ia], that [Phrao]rtes wi[th troops

26. went against me to join battle. We joined battle. Ahura]ma[zda su]pported me.
(13) With the pro[tec]tion of Ahuramazda I [ki]lled the army of [Phraortes]. On [the 25th of

27. Nisan we joined battle. I killed 34,42]5 of them [and] took [alive] 18,01[·].
(14)

28. ? ? ?
(15)

Col 3 (VII of original scroll)

Paragraph 6 (cont.)

29. [Then] the province became mine. This is what I did in Parthia.
(16)

23–24.   [*'d zy 'nh 'zl lmdy*], "[until I should come to Media]". Cowley sensed that this sentence, con-
(11–0)   strued slightly differently by him, should come between ll. 23 and 25 (Cowley ll. 11+12) as
          between ll. 17 and 19 (Cowley ll. 6+7), but did not incorporate it into his text at either location.

Paragraph 6

25.   *'nh*, inserted by Cowley, must be omitted for lack of space.
(12)   *'zlm[dy]*, "went (to) Me[dia]", written as one word and probably scribal error for *'zlt lmdy*, "I
          went to Media", with the scribe having omitted *tl* because of the preceding *lamed*. For the ex-
          pected preposition, cf. *'zl l'rrt* (l. 20).
          lmmth mdy, "upon arrival (in) Media", omitting the preposition; contrast l. 41.
          As observed by Cowley, the Aramaic here is abbreviated, omitting "who said, 'I am Khashatritti,
          a descendant of Cyaxares, King of Media'" after the name of Phraortes.

26.   [*'zl l'rqy lm'bd qrb*], "[went against me to join battle]". [*'zl*] is restored rather than Cowley's
(13)   *'th;* cf. ll. 15, 22. *'th* appears twice in this expression (ll. 41, 45) but in a different paragraph.
          The Akk. equivalent is *ittalak* in all passages.
          [*'bdn qrb'*], "[We joined battle]". Only here and in l. 27 is this expression in the first person
          plural. Both correspond to the Akk. (ll. 58–59) *nītepuš ṣaltu*.

26–27.   [*q*]*tlt* . . . [*qtlt*], "I [ki]lled . . . [I killed]"—contra Akk. which has "we killed".
(13–14) *b*[25 *lnysn*], "on [the 25th of Nisan]". The date, unavailable to Cowley, is restored on the basis
          of the new Akk. edition.

27.   The number of killed and captured cannot be read confidently in the Akk. Here, and in l. 43, we
(14)   have the sign for 10,000.

28.   The beginning of this line, left blank by Cowley, might be restored on the basis of Akk. *itti uqu*
(15)   *iṣūtu eli ṣeri ša sisê iḫliqma* = *'m hyl' z'yr' rkby swsyn qrq*, "fled (with) a small troop mounted on
          horses". This is a standard formula recurring in l. 44 and restorable in ll. 59f. Traces of the
          letters *heth* and *yod* are visible in the middle of the line and they would suggest restoring [*lrg 'zl*]
          hy[*l' l'rqh šlḥt*], "[He came to Raga. I sent] tr[oops against him]". But there are no letter traces
          after *heth yod* to indicate further text.

28–29.   Between these two lines a column of Aramaic text is missing (=Akk. ll. 59–68). It was thought at
(15–16) first that Pl. 56, Nos. 2 and 18 are remnants of this column since both contain, in whole or in
          part, the word *prtw*, "Parthia" (cf. Akk. ll. 64–67). Nonetheless, Sachau was unable to restore
          a text on the basis of the larger of these fragments (No. 2) that would correspond with Akk.
          Sections 28–29. It is now clear on the basis of fibre matching that both fragments do *not* belong
          to this missing column but to the next preserved column (Col 3).

Col 3 (VII of original scroll)

Sachau Papyrus 62 *recto* (Plate 54); Sachau Plate 56, Nos. 2, 3, 6, 7, 10(?), 12–14, 16(?), 17–20 = P.
13447 Kol. III (Pls. I, Figs. 1, 6; IV; IX; XIV–XVII).

Paragraph 6 cont.

29.   *mt'* "province", from the top of Pl. 56, No. 18. Cowley erroneously read *prt*.
(16)   Contra Cowley, the "Thus says King Darius" formula is not to be restored in the Aramaic ver-
          sion (see p. 5 above).

30. [*dryhwš mlk' kn 'mr 'ly mrdt mt'*] †*prtw šmh m̊r̊gw mlk 'lyhm 'bdw*

31. [*prd' šmh 'hr šlḥt ddrš*] *šm[h 'lymy prsy] pht̊' z̊[y bḥtr]y 'mrt 'zl [q]ṭl*

32. [*lḥyl' zy l' šm'n l]y 'hr d[drš ']z̊l 'bå qrb 'm mrg[w]y' 'hwrmzd s'dn̊ẙ*

33. [*bṭlh zy 'hwrmzd] ḥyl' zy l[y q]ṭlw lmr̊d[y'] 'lk b 23 l̊k̊slw 'bdw qrb*

34. [*qṭlw bhm* 5 × 10,000] 5 *lp* 24[3] *wḥyn '[ḥdw]* 6 *lp* 972

35. ['*ḥr mt' ly h]wt znh zy 'nh [bm]r̊gwy' ['bdt]*

Paragraph 7

30. [Thus says Darius the King: The province] named Parthia (!) [rebelled against
(17) me]. A Margian [⟨named Frada⟩], they made as king over them.

31. [Then I sent my servant, a Persian] nam[ed Dadarshu,] satrap o[f Bactr]ia: I
(18) said, "Go, [ki]ll

32. [the troops who do not obey m]e". Then Da[darshu w]ent (and) joined battle with
(19) the Marg[i]ans. Ahuramazda supported me.

33. [With the protection of Ahuramazda] m[y] troops [ki]lled those rebel[s]. On the
(20) 23rd of Kislev they joined battle.

34. [They killed 5]5,24[3 of them] and t[ook] alive 6972.
(21)

35. [Then the province be]came [mine]. This is what I [did against] the [Ma]rgians.
(0)

34

Paragraph 7

30.
(17)
[*'ly mrdt mt'*] *prtw šmh*, "[The province] named Parthia [rebelled against me]". The corresponding line in Akk. is *māt Margu šumšu takkirannima*, "The province named Margiana rebelled against me". Our Aramaic scribe erroneously wrote *prtw*, "Parthia" instead of *mrg*, "Margiana" under the influence of *prtw* in the preceding line. In our restoration we distinguish between [*'ly mrdt*]= Akk. *takkirannima*, verb plus object suffix, and [*mn qdmy mr*]*dw* (l. 39)=*ittekrū lapāniya*, verb, preposition plus suffix.

mrgw mlk 'lyhm 'bdw, "A Margian as king over them they made." Notice the double accusative preceding the verb, with the second in apposition to the first. The expression "they made as king" differs from Akk. "he became a leader". Moreover, Aramaic lacks *'yš ḥd*, "a man" at the beginning of the sentence, as would have been expected from the Akk.

31.
(18)
šm[*h*] . . . *pḥt'*—here begin fragments Pl. 56, Nos. 3 and 6. Cowley thought No. 3 belonged to a second recension.

[*'lymy prsy*], "[my servant, a Persian]", missing from Cowley but restored according to Akk. *qalla parsâ* (Akk. l. 69); cf. ll. 2, 19, 39f (order reversed).

'mrt, "I said". Unlike the Akk. text which uses the same root but different stem for "send a person" (*ašpur*) and "send a message" (*aštapar/altapar*), Aramaic, which in other texts of the period, particularly letters, uses *šlḥ* for "sending a message", here avoids ambiguity by change of verb. The word *šlḥt* could be translated either "I sent (a message)" or "I sent (a person)".

'zl [*q*]*ṭl*, "Go, [ki]ll". Asyndeton unlike Akk. "Go and kill".

32.
(19)
[*lḥyl' zy l' šm 'n l*]*y*, "[the troops who do not obey m]e" missing from Cowley but restored on the basis of Akk. (l. 69) *ana uqu (nakrūtu) ša la išemmū'inni.*

[*'*]*zl 'bd qrb*, "[w]ent (and) joined battle". The word *'zl*, missing from Cowley, is the equivalent of Akk. *ittalak* (l. 69). Read [*qr*]*b* with Sachau (text; his note otherwise) rather than Cowley's [*qr*]*b'*. This is the more frequent form (ll. 13, 15, 21, 33, 57).—Here begins Pl. 56, No. 2. *mrg*[*w*]*y'*, "Marg[i]ans", as in OP. Akk. has *mar-gu-ma-a-a*, "Margians" but strangely preceded by KUR, the determinative for a country. This was translated "Margiana" by Von Voigtlander.

33.
(20)
ḥyl' zy l[*y*], "m[y] troops"—present in fragment but missing from Cowley's main text; corresponds to Akk. *uqu attū'a* (l. 70).

Aramaic and Babylon Akk. fragment omit "He killed Frada and the rebels who were with him—a total of ⌜46?⌝" (cf. Akk. l. 70).

34.
(21)
Cowley restored this line correctly on the basis of l. 4 of fragment Pl. 56, Col 3 (=his l. 21*). The number of prisoners here is 6972 against 6572 in Akk.

35.
(0)
Cowley recognized that the space between ll. 34 and 36 (his ll. 21 and 22) should contain the words in his l. 21* (our l. 35), but the inability to accommodate the expression "Thus says Darius the King" found in the Akk., led him to assume that the fragment constituted a second recension. Actually, the Aramaic text simply omitted the expression as it did in l. 38 and as Cowley so recognized there (=his l. 24). The text of Pl. 56, No. 3, l. 5 accords with the Akk.; cf. l. 29 for the concluding formula—"The province became mine; this is what I did". The Akk. (l. 71) continues ". . . in Bactria and Margiana" but our text has only [*bm*]*rgwy'*, "[against] the [Ma]rgians". The Babylon fragment also does not have enough room for both names.

36. [*dryhwš mlk' kn*]*'m[r*]*wydzt š[mh*]† *bprt[w byw]ty šmh prsy ytb bprs* [*qm 'mr*]
37. [*l'm' 'nh brzy br*]*h zy krš 'hr h[y]l' z[y prs] kmst zy bbty' b' lwk zy b[']nz*
38. [*mn qdmy mrdw 'l*]*why 'zlw hw m[lk]' b[prs h]wh 'hr 'nh hyl' [z]y bprs z'yr*
39. [*zy mn qdmy l' mr]dw why*l' *zy mdy zy 'm[y hw]h šlḥt 'rtwrzy šmh prsy*

Paragraph 8

36. [Thus] say[s Darius the King]: A Persian na[med] Vahyazdata in Parth[ia (!) in
(22) (the province)] named [Yau]tiya, residing in Persia, [arose (and) said
37. to the people, "I am Smerdis so]n of Cyrus". Then the [Persian] tr[oo]ps, as many
(23) as (were) in the palaces in '*lwk* which is/are in [A]nshan,
38. [rebelled against me] (and) went over [to] him. He [be]came k[ing in Persia]. Then
(24) I ⟨sent⟩ the small troop [wh]ich was in Persia
39. [which had not rebe]lled [against me] and the Median troops which [wer]e with
(25) [me]. ⟨I sent⟩ a Persian named Artavarziya,

36

Paragraph 8

36.
(22)
wydzt š[mh]bprt[w(!) byw]ty, "na[med] Vahyazdata in Parth[ia in (the province) named Yau]tiya", not omitted as claimed by Cowley but to be restored. The text he uncertainly restored [*wyz*]*dt*, following Sachau is better restored [*byw*]*ty*. Parthia (*prtw*) is clearly a scribal error for Tarawa (*trw*). Still under the influence of *prtw* in l. 30, which the scribe erroneously carried over from l. 29, he wrote a graphically similar and topographically more familiar word.

The spelling *wydzt* is a scribal error for *wyzdt*. As in l. 30, so here Aramaic omits *'yš ḥd*=Akk. *ištēn amēlu*, "a (certain) man" as well as *brt'*, "fortress"; *mt'*, "province"; *bprs*, "in Persia". [*qm 'mr*] "[arose (and) said]". The word *qm* is restored on the basis of Akk. *itbāma* (l. 71).

37.
(23)
[*l'm'*], "[to the people]"—such a term is required by the space and corresponds to Akk. *ana uqu*, "to the people/army" and OP *kāra*, "people/army". In Hebrew too, *'m* bears this double meaning (cf. Num. 20:20; I Sam. 11:11; I Ki. 20:10).

Aramaic and OP omit "King of Lands" found in Akk. It may also have been omitted by Berlin fragment BE 3627 II 10.

kmst, "as many as". The word *mst* also occurs in Bresciani-Kamil 2:4, 3:8 and in Deut. 16:10. It functions as a particle and (*k*)*mst* regularly translates Biblical Hebrew (*k*)*dy*, "according to, as much as" (Lev. 5:7, 12:8, 25:26, 28; Deut. 15:8, 25:2, etc.; cf. Ex. 36:5, 7).

bbty' b'lwk—meaning uncertain. Perhaps *'lwk* is an unidentified place name (A. D. H. Bivar) but in the Akk. Berlin fragment BE 3627 II 11, which preserves the word *alluka*, there is no place determinative. This text appears to have been closer to the Aramaic than the main Akk. text. The latter has a cryptic reference to Babylon which "was a good three months trek from the scene of operations" (A. D. H. Bivar).

b[']*nz*, "in [A]nshan", on the basis of Akk. and OP. Sachau read *b[·]t[·]n* and Cowley *b[r]t[']*. Our initial tendency was to restore [*'*]*n[z]n* but further collation reveals clearly that the final letter cannot be a *nun*.

37–38.
(23–24)
The main Akk. text has *maḫru . . . ana pānīya illikū*, "had previously . . . come to me" (l. 72). In Aramaic this would have been *zy mn qdmn 'ly 'zlw*, "which had previously come to me." Our scribe apparently omitted the clause due to homoeoteleuton, his eye skipping from the *zayin* of *'nz*, omitting *mn qdmn*, and going to the graphically similar *mn qdmy* of l. 38. Aramaic [*'l*]*why* instead of Akk. "to Vahyazdata" (see on l. 38) may have been influenced by the omitted *'ly*.

38.
(24)
[*mn qdmy mrdw*], "[rebelled against me]", based upon Akk. *ittekrū lapānīya*; compare l. 39 and contrast l. 30. Cowley omitted the first word.

[*'l*]*why 'zlw*, "went over [to] him"=Akk. *ana muḫḫišu ittalkū* in BE 3627, II 12 unlike the main Akk. text which has "went over to Vahyazdata".

ḥyl'[z]*y bprs z'yr*, "the small troop [wh]ich was in Persia", corresponding exactly to Akk. *uqu ša* KUR *Parsu mīṣi* (l. 72). The Akk. here adds "other" but spacing will not allow it in our text.

39.
(25)
zy 'm[y hw]h, "which [wer]e with [me]"=Akk. *ša pānīya*. This passage was mistranslated by Von Voigtlander.

Once more Aramaic omits *'yš ḥd*, "a (certain) man"=Akk. *ištēn amēlu* before the personal name.

40. [ʿlymʾ zyly brʾšhw]m̊ šlḥt wšʾ[r ḥylʾ zy]p̊r̊s̊ wmd[y]ʿmy ʾz̊[l̊]ẘ ʾḥr ʾrtw[rzy]

41. [ʿm]ḥ̊y[lʾ ʾzl lprs lmm]t̊ʾ br̊ḥʾ šmh[bprs wyzd]t [zk] zy ʾm[r]ʾnh b̊[r]z̊y ⁵t̊h̊ [ʿ]m̊ [ḥylʾ]

42. [lʿr]q̊ḥ̊[zy ʾrtwrzy]l̊m[ʿ]b̊d̊ q[r]b wq̊[rbʾ ʿbdw]ʾ h̊wrmzd̊[s]ʿdny b[t̊]l̊h zy ʾh̊[wrmzd]

43. [ḥy]l̊ʾ [zyl]ẙ q̊[tlw] l̊ḥylh̊[zy wyzdt b 12 lʾyr] ʿb̊d̊w qrbʾ [q]t̊lw b h̊m 3 × 10,000 5(?) [l̊p̊]

44. [4×]100[+ 4] wḥyn̊[ʾḥdw - - - ʾḥr wyzdt zk ʿm] ḥylʾ zʿy[rʾ] rkby s̊wsyn qr[q]

40. [my servant, at the]ir [head] and the r[est of the troops of] Persia and Med[ia
(26) we[nt] with me. Then Artava[rziya

41. went to Persia with] tro[ops. Upon arriv]al at (a place) named Rakha [in Persia that
(27) Vahyazda]ta who sai[d], "I am Sm[er]dis", came [wi]th [troops

42. agai]nst [Artavarziya] to j[oi]n ba[tt]le and [they joined] ba[ttle]. Ahuramazda
(28) [su]pported me. With the [pro]tection of Ah[uramazda

43. m]y [troo]ps ki[lled] the troops [of Vahyazdata. On the 12th of Iyyar] they joined
(29) battle. They [ki]lled 35,404(?) of them

44. [and took] alive · · · . [Then that Vahyazdata] fle[d with] a sm[all] troop mounted
(30) on horses

40. ['lym' zyly], "[my servant]" required by the space and restored according to the Akk. qalla
(26) (l. 73); cf. ll. 8, 19, 31, 52.
[br'šhw]m, "[at the]ir [head]"; cf. too l. 52. Akk. in both passages (ll. 73, 79) has an equivalent
but expanded expression—rabû ina muḫḫišunu, "commander over them".
wš'[r ḥyl' zy]prs wmd[y], "and the r[est of the troops of] Persia and Med[ia]", restored on the
basis of OP, "the rest of the Persian army". Cowley could not "guess at the word" introduced
by wš[in l. 10 of the fragment. The Akk. (l. 73) strangely reads nikrūtu uqu, "the rebellious
army"; Von Voigtlander thinks Darius here is boasting about his cleverness (p. 7). If so, it is the
only boast of this sort in the whole inscription.

41. ['m]ḥy[l' 'zl lprs], "[went to Persia with] tro[ops]", corresponding to Akk. itti uqu ittalak ana
(27) KUR Parsu (ll. 73–74). Cowley omitted the last two words. Here begins Pl. 56, No. 14.
[lmm]t' brḥ' šmh, "[upon arriv]al [at] (a place) named Rakha", according to Akk. ana kašādu
ina URU Raḫa šumšu. Sachau correctly read [b]rḥ' (contra Cowley's lrḥ'); cf. bkndwr in l. 25.
Sachau followed by Cowley misread the beginning of l. 11 in the fragment as]l' and so Cowley
incorrectly restored the beginning of the line ['m ḥyl' lrḥ' šmh].
Unlike l. 37 Aramaic here omits "son of Cyrus".
'th, "came", here and in l. 45, a variation in the Aramaic text which otherwise uses 'zl. Akk.
regularly uses ittalak.

41–42 [']m [ḥyl' l'r]qḥ[zy 'rtwrzy], "[wi]th [troops agai]nst [Artavarziya]"=Akk. itti uqu ittalak ana
(27–28) tarṣi Artamarzi (l. 74).

42. lm['bd q[r]b, "to j[oi]n ba[tt]le." The lamed–mem are in Pl. 56, No. 20; the bottom of the beth in
(28) 56, 19; and q[r]b at the bottom of 56, 3.
wq[rb' 'bdw], lit. "and ba[ttle joined]"; so too l. 4—reversal of the usual order w'bdw qrb (ll. 13,
15, 21, 33, 57).

43. [ḥy]l' [zyl]y q[ṭlw] lhylh[zy wyzdt], "[m]y [troo]ps ki[lled] the troops [of Vahyazdata]". The
(29) yod of zyly and the qoph of qṭlw are in Pl. 56, No. 13. The second ḥyl is written with the resump-
tive suffix of 3 m. s. in contrast to lines 26 and 54 where it is written with the final aleph for the
determined state. This latter form of the word has been restored in l. 46. In typical abbreviating
fashion, Aramaic omits "who said 'I am Smerdis'" after Vahyazdata.

43–44. The number is incomplete. Following three strokes there appears the sign which, according to
(29–30) l. 27 (=Pl. 52, l. 14) equals 10,000. Sachau correctly rendered that sign but transcribed the one in
our passage as (3 ×)1000. Following this sign are four strokes and a lacuna. Cowley rendered the
number 303 . . ., which is obscure. Our number continues in line 44 and must be 30,000+
4000[+?]+400(?)+tens and/or units. The Akk. has 4004, and four unit strokes would fit the
blank space quite well. It would be tempting to see the original number as 34,404 but the fourth
stroke at the left edge of l. 43 tilts to the left, whereas such fourth strokes, when final strokes,
elsewhere tilt to the right (cf. 11, 17, 21, 56).

44. ['ḥr wyzdt zk] . . . qr[q], "[Then that Vahyazdata] . . . fle[d]"=Akk. arki Umizdatu agāšû . . .
(30) iḫliqma. Cowley incorrectly inserted 'zl and restored the last word as qd[m]. The same phrase
recurs in ll. 59–60=Akk. 82–83. For the verb, cf. Sefire III 4, 19; Ashur ostracon l. 9; Driver
3:5.

45. [pšy]ḥ[wd]ʾzl̊[mn ʾtrʾ zk lḥylʾ knš]ʾth lʿr[q]ḥ̊ [zy ʾ]rtwr[z]ẙ lmʿb̊[d qrb]

46. [bpr]gʾ[ṭw]rʾ[šmh tmh ʿbdw qrb ḥylʾ zyly qṭl]ẘ ḥyl[ʾ z]ẙ [wyzd]t byrḥ t[mwz]

47. ʿb̊dw qrbʾ qṭlw bh[m   wḥyn ʾḥdw   ]

48. wyzdt ʾḥdw wḥrʾ zy ʿm̊[h ʾḥr bhwdšy bprs wyzdt wḥrʾ zy ʿmh klʾ bzqypʾ]

49. šmt np̊[ḥr] qṭylyʾ wḥ̊[yʾ zy ḥylʾ zyly qṭlw wʾḥdw . . .]

45. [(and)] went to [Pishi]kh[uvada. From that place he mustered troops]. He came
(31) agai[ns]t [A]rtavar[zi]ya to jo[in battle.
46. At a moun]tain [named Par]ga—[there they joined battle. My troops killed the]
(32) troo[ps o]f [Vahyazda]ta. In the month of Ta[mmuz]

Col 4 (VIII of original scroll)

Paragraph 8 (cont.)

47. they joined battle. They killed [· · ·] of th[em and took alive · · ·].
(33)
48. They took Vahyazdata and the nobles who were wi[th him. Then]⟨I im⟩[paled
(34) Vahyazdata and all the nobles who (were) with him in Uvadaichaya in Persia].
49. The tot[al] of killed and liv[ing which my troops killed and seized was
(35)

45.   [pšy]ḥ[wd]'zl, "went to [Pishi]kh[uvada]", following the Akk. spelling pi-ši-'-ḫu-ma-da (l. 76).
(31)   Kent gave the OP as Paišiyāuvāda but W. Hinz rendered the word as Paišyāxvāda (Neue Wege im Altpersischen, Wiesbaden, 1973, 146). The presence of a ḫ in Akk. and Aramaic validates this reconstruction of the name in Old Persian. Linguistic conclusions (e.g. W. Hinz, op. cit., 43) based on Cowley's reconstruction (pyšywd') are invalid.

[mn 'tr' zk lḥyl' knš], "[From that place he mustered troops]". Akk. has ultu libbiša idkema uqu, "From there he mustered troops" (l. 76). Elsewhere ina libbi (l. 47) was restored in Aramaic simply as tmh, "there" (l. 7). Spacing here appears to require a longer phrase. Cf. a similar restoration in l. 61, [gbr' zk], repeating the identical phrase two lines earlier (l. 59) even though the Akk. has simply šu, "him"; the longer restoration there was likewise due to space require-ments. While the Akk. differentiates between paḫāru, "rally" and dekû, "muster", Aramaic (and Syriac) seem to have only knš. Targum and Peshitta to Ju. 4:10, 13; 2 Sam. 20:4f translates Hebrew hzʿyq by knš. Cf. further on l. 11.

46.   Contra Cowley, the text may be restored on the basis of the Akk. Both Ahuramazda formulae are
(32)   omitted (cf. p. 15 above).

[bpr]gʾ[ṭw]rʾ[šmh], "[at a moun]tain [named Par]ga"=Akk. KUR Parga šumšu šadû (l. 76). Did the Aramaic also have bprs, "in Persia"=Akk. [ina] KUR Parsu or was the space taken up by tmh, "there"=ina libbi? Aramaic tended to omit secondary geographical designations (cf. p. 15 above) and so we opt for the latter possibility.

[zyly]—docs zyl[y] in Pl. 56, No. 16 go here?

byrḥ t[mwz], "In the month of Ta[mmuz]," omitting the day ("5th day") of the Akk. (l. 77).

Col 4 (VIII of original scroll)
Sachau Papyrus 62 recto (Plate 54); Sachau Plate 56, Nos. 4, 5, 8, 9, 11, 15=P. 13447 Kol. IV (Pls. I, Figs. 1, 7; V; IX; XV–XVIII).

Paragraph 8 (cont.)

48.   'ḥdw, "they took". Akk. (l. 77) has uṣṣabbitū ṣabtu, "they took captive".
(34)   ḥr' zy ʿm[h], "the nobles who were wi[th him]"=Akk. mār banî ša ittišu.
Contra Cowley, the formula "Thus says Darius the King" is not to be expected here, but the text may otherwise be confidently restored on the basis of the Akk.

[bhwdšy], "[Uvadaichaya]". Von Voigtlander transcribed the name as Ū-ba-da-sa-⌈ia⌉/⌈a-a⌉ (l. 78). King-Thompson earlier had read Ū-ma[. . .]. The cuneiform signs for ba and ma in the Neo-Babylonian period are virtually indistinguishable. In light of the OP form, we should no doubt transcribe the Akk. as Ū-ma-da-sa-⌈ia⌉/⌈a-a⌉. Cowley transcribed the name hwdyzy'. But OP č is usually transcribed in Aramaic with a shin; e.g. 'wpšr (Cowley 26:3, 6, 9, 22)=*upačāra; 'ryyš' (Cowley 6:21)=*Aryaiča, "Iranian".

48–49   [bzqyp'] šmt, "I im[paled]"=Akk. ina zaqīpi aškun. For the term zqyp, "stake", cf. Ez. 6:11;
(34–35)   Second Targum to Esther 7:9, and elsewhere in Babylonian Aramaic.

49.   np[ḥr] qtyly' wḥ[y'], "the tot[al] of killed and liv[ing]". The first word is damaged. Sachau sug-
(35)   gested hmw and Cowley thought it began with the numeral "ten". L. 61 below suggests the cor-rect reading here. There, we must restore nphr q[tyly' wḥy']=Akk. napḫar dīku u balṭu (l. 83). So too here, the first two letters may be read as nun and pe. The restored text, however, differs basically from the Akk.

50. 52 *znh zy 'nh bprs* [*ʿbdt*]

51. *dryhwš mlk' kn 'mr w*[*yzdt zk zy 'mr 'nh brzy br krš hyl' lhrwhty*]

52. *šlh w'yš hd br' šhw*[*m šlh l'rqh zy wymn šmh ʿlym' zyly prsy pht'*]

53. *zy bhrwhty lm 'zlw l*[*wymn qtlw wlhyl' zy ldryhwš mlk' šmʿn*]

54. *qtlw hyl' zy wyzdt* [*šlh l'rqh zy wymn 'zlw*   ]*ʿl* ..[

55. *'hwrmzd sʿdny* [*btlh zy 'hwrmzd qtlw hyl' zy*]*ly lh*[*yl' mrdy' qtlw*]

56. *bhm* 4 *l*[*p*] 57[9 *whyn 'hdw* 3]76[+ ?] [*b* 13 *ltbt*]

50. ⟨···⟩]52. This is what I [did] in Persia.
(36)

Paragraph 9

51. Thus says Darius the King: [That] Va[hyazdata who said "I am Smerdis son of
(37) Cyrus"] ⟨had sent⟩ [troops to Arachosia].

52. And [he sent] a man at the[ir] head [against my servant, a Persian named Vivana,
(38) satrap]

53. of Arachosia, saying "Go, [kill Vivana and] ⟨kill⟩ [the troops who obey Darius
(39) the king]".

54. The troops whom Vahyazdata [*had sent went against Vivana* ...].
(40)

55. Ahuramazda supported me. [With the protection of Ahuramazda m]y [troops
(41) killed the rebel] tr[oops. They killed]

56. 457[9] of them [and took alive 3]76[+ ?]. [On the 13th of Tebeth]
(42)

50.   As expected, the Aramaic omits the introductory formula, but it also skips the first half of the
(36)   concluding formula, "Then this province became mine".

Paragraph 9

51.   Text restored on basis of Akk.
(37)

52.   *br'šhw[m]*, "at the[ir] head"; cf. l. 40.
(38)

52–53.   *w'yš ḥd ... [šlḥ] ... lm*, "And [he sent] ... a man ..., saying"=Akk. *iltapar ana ištēn amēlu ...*
(38–39)   *umma* (l. 79); von Voigtlander translates this differently, "sent an order to a certain man ...,
saying". But Akk. *ana* is simply a marker for the direct object; contrast *altapar umma* (Akk. l.
54), "sent orders, saying" where "saying" follows immediately after the verb.

53.   *bhrwḥty*: In R.A. Bowman, *Aramaic ritual texts from Persepolis*, Chicago, 1970, Nos. 9, 13, 43,
(39)   etc. the name is spelled *hrḥwty* corresponding to OP *Harahvatiš*. The form here corresponds
to Akk. *Aruḫatti*. Cf. Bowman, op. cit., 82.
This line would fall short if restored exactly as the Akk. We have thus added the verb *qtlw*, "kill"
after the name Vivana and also the title *mlk'*, "king", found in the OP and Elamite versions.

54.   Akk. has *arki uqu ša Umizdata išpuru ittalku ana tarṣi Umimana ana epeš ṣaltu [ina]* URU *Kapiša-*
(40)   *kana šumšu* etc., "Then the troops whom Vahyazdata had sent went against Vivana to join battle.
In ... Kapishakana ... they fought a battle." Aramaic omits *'hr*=*arki* but should continue *hyl'*
zy wyzdt (zy) šlḥ l'rqh zy wymn 'zlw lm'bd qrb bqpšqn šmh bhrwḥty tmh 'bdw qrb. But the letters
at the top of fragment Pl. 56, No. 4 which we had wanted to read as *[lm] '[bd] qr[b]* show no signs
of *mem* or *beth* and indicate instead *ayin–lamed*. Perhaps the Aramaic text was contracted and
read *'l qp[šqn (šmh) lm 'bd qrb]*, "('The troops whom Vahyazdata had sent against Vivana, went) to
Kapi[shakana to join battle]".

55.   *lḥ[yl' mrdy']*, "[the rebel] tr[oops]"=Akk. *ana uqu nikrūtu* (l. 81).
(41)

55–56.   ["They killed ... and took alive ..."]. This sentence is missing in the Akk. which has a different
(41–42)   formula following the date (see next comment).

56.   The number killed in Aramaic is 4000+500+20+20+20+[10]+[···]=4570+digits. This
(42)   number appears to be identical with the 4579 dead and living recorded in Akk. l. 82 for the
following campaign. Reference to that campaign is lacking in the Aramaic. The Aramaic text
appears to be confused. The number taken alive is also fragmentary. Preserved are the signs for
100+20+20+20+10+3+3[+?]. There is room for at least 3 digits preceding the 100 sign.
Interestingly the fragmentary number of living in l. 58 begins with 3 digits followed by the 100
sign. (Cf. Introduction: Comparison with Akkadian Text, p. 15 above.)

57. ʿbdw qrb ʾḥwrmzd š[ʿdny bṭlh zy ʾ]ḥwrmzd ḥylʾ zy[ly qṭlw lḥylʾ]

58. mrdyʾ qṭlw bhm 4 [lp 579 w]ḥyn ʾḥdw 3[76+ ? ʾḥr]

59. gbrʾ zk zy rb ḥwh ʿ[l ḥylʾ zy šlḥ wyzdt ʿm] ḥylʾ [z]ʿyr[ʾ rkby swsyn]

60. [q]rq ʾršd [b]rtʾ bm[tʾ hrwḥty ʾzl ʾḥr w]ymn ʿm ḥyl[ʾ ʾzl lʿrqhwm]

61. [tmh gbrʾ zk ʾḥ]d qṭ[lh whrʾ zy ʿmh ḥwh q]ṭlw nphr q[ṭyly whyʾ zy]

57. they joined battle. Ahuramazda su[pported me. With the protection of A]hura-
(43) mazda m[y] troops [killed] the ⟨rebel⟩ [troops].

58. They killed 4[579] of them [and] took alive 3[76+?. Then]
(44)

59. that man who was commander o[f the troops whom Vahyazdata had sent ⟨f]led⟩
(45) [with a s]mal[l] troop [mounted on horses

60. (and) went (toward)] the [fo]rtress Arshada in the pro[vince of Arachosia. Then
(46) V]ivana [went against them] with troop[s.

61. There he captu]red [that man]. [He] kill[ed him and they ki]lled [the nobles who
(47) were with him]. The total of ki[lled and living of

57.
(43)

Aramaic omits "Then another time in the territory named Gandatamaki in Sattagydia they fought a battle". This omission may be explained by homoeoteleuton (Cowley) where the scribe's eye skipped from one *ʿbdw qrb* to the next. Moreover, the Aramaic also omits the date formula. We had wanted to incorporate fragment Pl. 56, No. 11 at this point. The first line reads *s[ʿ]dny*, "supported me" and not *my* (contra Sachau and Cowley). The *lamed* in the second line would go with the number *lp* in l. 58. However, we are unable to incorporate the letter-traces on the verso, indistinct though they were, into our reconstructed text in ll. 72–73.

58.
(44)

As in ll. 55–56, so here the Aramaic version differs from the Akk. in that it distinguishes between the number of dead and living. The Akk. gives a total for both of 4579. In Aramaic only 3 digits are preserved for the number killed. The missing space would allow restoration of a number in the 4,000's. If the number in l. 56 is indeed an anticipatory error of the number here, then it too must have been 4579. Such a restoration fits well in the blank space. Similarly, the number taken alive should find its counterpart in l. 56, and so we restored:

l. 56—$3 \times 100 + 20 + 20 + 20 + 10 + 6[+ ?] = 376[+ ?]$.
l. 58—$300 + [20 + 20 + 20 + 10 + 6(+ ?)] = 376[+ ?]$.

These two lines (ll. 56, 58) constitute the most serious divergence from the Akk. text and our suggestions do not exhaust the topic.

59.
(45)

Lacking the addition of Fragment Pl. 56, No. 8, Cowley thought this line was shorter than the Akk. text. Actually, it is identical and the occurrence of *[z]ʿyr[ʾ]*, "[s]mal[l]" confirms the position of the fragment as belonging here.

gbrʾ zk zy rb ḥwh ʿ[l ḥylʾ], "that man who was commander o[f the troops]" = Akk. *amēlu agāšu ša ina muḫḫi uqu rabû* (l. 82).

60.
(46)

[q]rq, "[f]led" = Akk. *iḫliq*; cf. l. 44. Not *[ʿ]rq* (as Cowley).

ʾršd . . . [ʾzl], "[went (toward)] . . . Arshada" = Akk. *ittalak ana teḫ* URU *Aršada* (l. 83).

bm[tʾ], "in the pro[vince of]" with Ungnad contra Cowley; cf. ll. 29f, 62.

Aramaic omits the descriptive term "fortress of Vivana". Otherwise it corresponds exactly with the Akk.

[w]ymn, "[V]ivana"; from Pl. 56, No. 5, l. 2. The Akk. spelling is ᵐ*Ú-mi-ma-na-ʾ* (l. 79). The second half of the name clearly conforms with this spelling. We prefer, however, to restore the first half according to the OP spelling: cf. Aramaic *wyzdt* = OP Vahyazdata = Akk. ᵐ*Ú-mi-iz-da-a-tu₄*.

ḥyl[ʾ]—here begins the fragment Pl. 56, No. 8.

[lʿrqhwm], "[against them]" = Akk. *ana tarṣišunu* (l. 83).

61.
(47)

Cowley thought the passage "differed somewhat from Bab." because he followed Sachau in reading *[ʿb]d qr[bʾ]*. The letter traces read as *resh* are better restored as *teth*, thus giving an entirely different text and one corresponding closely to the Akk. The only difference is the use of "that man" (*gbrʾ zk*, as in l. 59) instead of Akk., "him".

[wḥrʾ zy ʿmh ḥwh], "[and the nobles who were with him]". The noun *ḥrʾ* is a collective and perhaps the verb should not be singular *ḥwh* (as Cowley) but plural *ḥww*. The collective noun *ḥylʾ* takes the plural verbs *ʾzlw* and *qtlw* (ll. 10, 13, 16f, etc.) but the singular *[ḥw]h* (l. 39).

[q]tlw, "They [ki]lled"—Pl. 56, No. 3. Both Akk. and OP give the verb in the singular. Was the Aramaic reading at the *beginning* of the sentence also plural, viz *qtlwhy*, "they killed him"?

npḥr, "total"; also in l. 49. It is the only new Akk. loan word in this text.

45
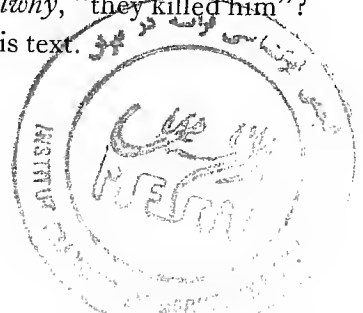
62. [*wyzdt zy ḥy*]*ly qṭlw* [*w᾿ḥdw*   ]5 ᾿*ḥr mt*[᾿ *ly ḥwt znh*]
63. [*zy ᾿nh bhr*]*wḥty ᾿bd*[*t*]
64. [*dryhwš mlk᾿ kn ᾿mr mn ᾿n*]*t mlk zy ᾿ḥry thwh ᾿yš zy ykdb*
65. [   ]*q mn kdbn šgy᾿n* ᾿*zhr* ᾿[. . . .]*zy ykdb*
66. [*šgy᾿*] *ḥwd᾿ ᾿yk zy ᾿byd ᾿nt w᾿yk hlktk*

62. Vahyazdata which] my [arm]y killed [and captured was ···]5. Then [the] province
(48) [became mine. This
63. is what I] di[d in Ara]chosia.
(49)

Col 5 (XI of original scroll)

Paragraph 10

64. [Thus says Darius the King: Whoever yo]u are O King who will be after me
(50) [⟨. . .⟩] a man who lies.
65. [. . .] Guard yourself from great lies. . . who lies
(51)
66. [. . . Very much] make known how you act and of what sort your behaviour is.
(52)

61–62. *q[tyly' why' zy wyzdt]*, "ki[lled and living of Vahyazdata]". Akk. adds "of the troops of . . .".
(47–48) Von Voigtlander read the name as ᵐU-mi-ᵗmaᵗ-[na]-' and commented that "the total strength of the army of Vivana is given". Elsewhere in the text, however, the casualty figures of the defeated rebel are recorded and not those of the king or his faithful retainer (cf. ll. 5f, 13f, 17, 21, 23, 27, 34, 49f, 55f, 58). One wonders, therefore, whether the poorly preserved Akk. name should not be read ᵐU-mi-ᵗizᵗ-[da-a]-tu₄, "Vahyazdata".

62. *qtlw [w'hdw · · ·] //// //*, "killed [and captured · · ·]o5". The number in the Akk. (l. 84) is partially
(48) missing; preserved is only 4 LIM ᵗ2ᵗ ME=42,000(?).
Here too, the "Thus says Darius the King" formula is not to be found (contra Cowley).

62–63. Restoring *znh* at the end of l. 62 (=Cowley 48), there is room for *'nh* in l. 63 (contra Cowley);
(48–49) cf. l. 50. In his comments on the felicitous conjunction of the fragment, Cowley comes close to acknowledging that it might indeed belong here, but then backs away.

Col 5 (XI of original scroll)

Sachau Papyrus 62 *verso* (Plate 55); Papyrus 68 (Plate 56)=P. 13447 Kol. V (Pls. I, Figs.1, 8; VI; X; XIX–XXII).

Paragraph 10

64. *[mn 'n]t mlk zy 'hry thwh*, "[Whoever yo]u are O King who will be after me"=Akk. *mannu atta*
(50) *šarru ša arkiya tellâ* (l. 97; so too 105), "Whoever you are O King who will arise after me".

64–65. These two lines combine elements from both Akk. ll. 97 and 105 (so already Sachau). Akk. 105
(50–51) reads "Do not befriend the man who lies (*amēlu ša uparraṣu='yš zy ykdb*) or the lawbreakers". An unrecoverable Aramaic equivalent of the "the lawbreakers" must have stood at the beginning of l. 65 and we had wanted to restore the negative *['l trh]m*=Akk. *la tarām*, "do not befriend". But the remains of the letter to the left of the break can hardly be a *mem*. It would suit a *qoph* and the word may be *[rh]q*. This would yield *[rh]q mn kdbn šgy'n*, "[Be fa]r from great lies"; cf. Prov. 30:8. Alternatively, we may assume that the unknown word ended the preceding clause. In that case we would read *mn kdbn šgy'n 'zhr*, "Guard yourself from great lies"—equivalent to Akk. *lapāni pirṣātu lu māda uṣur ramānka*, "Guard yourself greatly from lies" (l. 97). We would have expected *'zdhr* (cf. Cowley 21:6).

66–70. The meaning of these lines had long been a puzzle. As noted, it has now been suggested by N.
(52–56) Sims-Williams that this passage reproduces Darius' Naqš-i Rustam b Inscription, OP lines 50–60 (cf. W. Hinz, *Altiranische Funde und Forschungen*, Berlin, 1969, 59f), which has been reworked accordingly. Yet the DNb text itself remains problematic in all its versions, nor is it clear how or when a text which was originally addressed by Darius to his subjects came to be incorporated into our inscription into a context of Darius addressing his successors.

66. *[šgy'] hwd'*, "[Very much] make known"=OP *d(a)ršam azdā kunšuvā*=Akk. *mādiš* [. . .] (Akk.
(52) line 32).
'yk zy 'byd 'nt, "how you act" with the use of the passive participle in an active sense; cf. above on line 17. The OP is read by Sims-Williams *čiyākaram āhi*, "of what kind you are".
w'yk hlktk, "and of what sort your behaviour is". This would correspond to OP *čiyākaram-tai pariyanam*. While the OP and Akkadian texts have three objects of the verb "make known", the Aramaic has only two, corresponding to the first and third items. Had there been a third item in the beginning of l. 67 we would not have expected the copula before the second *'yk* in l. 66.

67. [*zy b']d̊nk y'mr šm' zy p̊rtr y'mr*

68. [*y]'bd zy mskn y'bd zk ḥzy 'p qd̊mtk*

69. [*w'l b]ṭwbk 'ymnš thwh [.]rklyk 'l yl[ ]n̊*

70. [*]ḥ̊ry t. . . sẘᵈṭ' .[. . . .]. .y. .*

71.   . . . *l['m' qšṭ' 'mr 'l thṣpn] l̊h [hn] l' t̊hṣpn*

67. [*Let not that be good before you which one*] may say [in] your [ea]r. Hear what one
(53) may say openly.

68. [*Moreover, let not that be good before you which a nobleman* may d]o; observe also
(54) that which a poor man may do.

69. [. . . nor in] your well-being be insecure. . . .
(55)

70. [. . . .]   . . . .
(56)

71. . . . . [Tell the truth] to [the people. Do not conceal] it. [If] you do not conceal
(57) (it)

67. ["Let not that be good"]—the Aramaic idiom is not obvious. Akk. reads *agāšû ina pānika la*
(53) *ibanna*, "Let not that be good before you which . . ." (ll. 33–34).
[*zy b'd]nk y'mr*, "[which one] may say [in] your [ea]r" (i.e. whisper), reading]*nk* with Ungnad
and not [']*nt* with Cowley. The Akk. is missing but the OP is clear and the idiom would seem
to be the same (Sims-Williams).

67–68. *šm' zy prtr y'mr [lk]*, "Hear what one may say [to you] openly"=Akk. *agāšû šime ša ana [. . . iqab]-*
(53–54) *bakkâ* (l. 35). Unfortunately the Akk. is fragmentary and the OP faint and fragmentary. Kent
read *prt*[   ] and Sims-Williams restored *prtr* on the basis of the Aramaic and interpreted it as
paratar, "openly" on the basis of context and possible etymology.

68. The Aramaic idiom must have been the same as in l. 67. The Akk. is identical (l. 36)—"Let not
(54) that be go[od] before you [which . . .]".
[. . . *y*]*'bd*, "[which a nobleman may d]o"; a word such as "nobleman" is needed to contrast with
mskn, "poor man".
zy mskn y'bd zk hzy 'p qdmtk, "observe also that which a poor man may do", reading *mskn* with
Ungnad rather than *msbb* with Cowley. Akk. has *agāšû amur ša eppušu* . . . . As in Aḥiqar, l. 101
qdmtk complements *hzy*, literally, "look before you". Aramaic *hzy 'p qdmtk* would thus be a
calque on OP *avaš-či didi*.

69. [*w'l b]twbk 'ymnš thwh*, "[nor in] your well-being be insecure". The context is broken in both
(55) the Akk. and OP and the meaning, etymology, and form of OP *a-yaumainiš* much disputed. For
discussion of the Aramaic transcription, cf. Sims-Williams, p. 6.

69–70 [.]*rklyk . . . sw^d_rt*': This is the most problematic passage in the text. Sachau read l. 70 [*hr'*] *t[qs]'*
(55–56) *kdbt'* and linked the last word with "lies" in the Akk. text (ll. 99–100). Ungnad read the second
word *tq's* [typographical error?] which Cowley questioned. He recorded only the first letter—
taw. Meanwhile, the infra-red photograph leads us in a different direction for the third word.
The most likely reading is *sw^d_rt'* but this yields no known meaning. If the second letter were a
pe we would have *sprt'* which might be coordinated with Akk. *šaṭāru ša ina narû*, "the inscription
on the relief" (ll. 98, 100); cf. *mly spr' zy bnṣb' znh*, "the words of the inscription which is on
this stela" in the Sfire inscription (I C 17; cf. H. Donner and W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und
Aramäische Inschriften*, Wiesbaden, 1966², No. 222). But *spr* with the meaning "inscription"
always occurs in the masculine. We are also not in a position to say whether this passage is
related to the end of the Naqš-i Rustam b inscription since that is fragmentary. The whole
passage thus remains enigmatic.

71–74. Sachau already observed that the fragment Pl. 56, No. 4 must come at the end of the text be-
(57–59) cause only there, in the blessing and curse formulae, does Ahuramazda occur in the sequence
presumed here—at the beginning of two long sentences. In fact, neither he nor Cowley appre-
ciated that the two preserved letters after each occurrence of Ahuramazda yield *yb[rknk]*, "he
will b[less you]" and *yq[llnk]*, "he will c[urse you]".

71. *l['m' qšt' 'mr]*, "[Tell the truth] to [the people]"=Akk. *amat kittu ana uqu qibi* (ll. 101–102).
(57) [*'l thspn]* *lh*, "[Do not conceal] it"=Akk. *ul tapessin* (l. 102). It would also be possible to read
[*thṣp]n*.
[*hn*] *l' thspn*, "[If] you do not conceal (it)"=Akk. *kī dibbī annûtu la tapessinu* (l. 102). We had
wanted to add [*wl 'm' t'mr]*=*u ana uqu taqabbû*, but the papyrus is completely blank after the
tear following *thspn*.

49

72. ʾhwrmzd yb̊[rknk wzrʿ yhwh lk] šgʾ wywmyk yʾrkwn whn thṣpn

73. ʾhwrmzd yq[llnk wzrʿ lʾ yhwh lk]

74. dryhwš [mlkʾ kn ʾmr ʾlh gbr]yʾ zy qdmn ʿmy hww ʿd ʾnh [qṭ]lt lgwm[t z]k

75. mgwšʾ [zy kdb lm ʾnh brzy ʾlh]šgyʾ ʿm[y] ʾtnšhw

76. w[n]dprn [šmh br wyspr prsy wtn š]mh [br . . .]p[r]sy [gwbrw š]mh br mrd[wn]y

77. prsy w[drn šmh br bgbgn p]rsy mn ʾn[t mlk   ]. mn ʾ[.]r[.]

72. Ahuramazda will b[less you and your descendants will be] numerous and your
(58) days will be longlasting. But if you do conceal (it)
73. Ahuramazda will c[urse you and you will have no descendants].
(o)

Paragraph 11

74. [Thus says] Darius [the King: These are the me]n who were with me formerly
(59) while I [kil]led [th]at Gauma[ta] the
75. Magian [who lied, saying, "I am Smerdis". These] were very active together with
(60) m[e]—
76. V[in]taparna [by name, son of Vayaspara, a Persian; Vitana by n]ame, [son of
(61) . . . .,] a Persian; [Gubaru by n]ame, son of Mard[un]iya,
77. a Persian; Vi[darna by name, son of Bagabigna, a Pe]rsian. Whoever y[ou are O
(62) King. . . .]

72.
(58)

yb[rknk], "b[less you]". Akk. has *lusaddidka* (l. 102) which would equal more precisely Aramaic *ys'dnk*, but the trace of the second letter hardly allows for a *samekh*.

[*wzr' yhwh lk*] *šg'*, "[and your descendants will be] numerous"=Akk. *uzēruka limīd* (l. 102).

wywmyk y'rkwn, "and your days will be longlasting"=Akk. *ūmēka līrikū* (l. 102).

73.
(o)

yq[llnk], "c[urse you]"=Akk. *līrurka* (l. 103).

Paragraph 11

74.
(59)

[*'lh gbr]y' zy qdmn 'my hww*, "[These are the me]n who were with me formerly". The word restored *qd[m]n* is lacking in the Akk. [="These are the men who were with me" (l. 109)] but present in the OP [="These are the men who formerly (*adakaiy*) were there" (l. 81)]. Sachau and Ungnad read *qrwn* and Cowley *qnn* (or *qmyn?*). The *daleth* is clear and restoration of the *mem* probable.

74-75.
(59-60)

'd 'nh [qt]lt lgwm[t z]k mgwš', "while I [kil]led [tha]t Gauma[ta] the Magian"=Akk. *adi muḫḫi ša anāku ana Gumati agāšû amēlu maguŝu addūku* (ll. 109-10). Here comes fragment Pl. 56, No. 9.

75.
(60)

[*zy kdb lm 'nh brzy*], "[who lied, saying, 'I am Smerdis']"=Akk. *ša ipruṣu umma anāku Barziya* (l. 110). Cowley simply restored *'mr*, "said". The Akk. added "son of Cyrus", but the Aramaic typically omitted it.

[*'lh*]*šgy' 'm[y] 'tnšhw*, "[These] were very active together with m[e]". Akk. has *ša kitruya illikū*, "who came to my aid" (l. 110). The OP text is closer to the Aramaic: "who were active with me" (DB 4.82); cf. E. Benveniste, *JA*, CCLXXII, 1954, 305. The translation of the Akk. by Von Voigtlander, "who came as my allies", is not correct; for this expression cf. *CAD*, K, p. 467 s.v. *kitru* A.

76.
(61)

w[n]dprn [šmh br wyspr prsy], "V[in]taparna (Gr. Intaphernes) [by name, son of Vayaspara, a Persian]". Cf. Akk. l. 110. Cowley spelled the name *wyndprnh* and was followed by W. Kornfeld, *Onomastica Aramaica aus Ägypten*, Vienna, 1978, 105. The form here is surely the same as in R.A. Bowman, *Aramaic ritual texts from Persepolis*, Chicago, 1970, 36:1 and 148:1. Moreover, none of the *-farna* names ends in *he;* cf. Kornfeld's list, op. cit., 33. The bottom of the *waw* of the name is at the top of fragment Pl. 56, No. 8 verso and the letters *dprn* on 56, 5 verso. Cowley erroneously read that line *ybr* (contra Sachau's correct *pr*).

76-77.
(61-62)

[*gwbrw š]mh br mrd[wn]y prsy*, "[Gubaru (Gr. Gobryas) by n]ame, son of Mard[un]iya (Gr. Mardonios), a Persian". Cowley restored the name as *gwbrwh*; the form adopted here is to be found in Bowman, *Aramaic ritual texts*, 69:1.

77.
(62)

w[drn šmh br bgbgn p]rsy, "Vi[darna by name, son of Bagabigna, a Pe]rsian". For the spelling of the patronymic cf. Aimé-Giron 87b:20. The Akk. has two more names, Bagabukshu son of Zatua and Ardimanish son of Vakhku. Both parts of the first name are attested elsewhere—*bgbḫš* (Cowley 51:10) and *ztwhy* (Driver 6:1). However, the next word begins with a *mem* and further on in the line we read *mem nun aleph*. These signs do not conform with any of the above names. It would thus appear that the Aramaic had four instead of six names and the last 2½ lines correspond to the end of the Akk. version, "Whoever you are, O King who will arise after me . . ." (l. 112). The Aramaic letter-traces at the beginning of the sentence may be restored to yield *mn '[nt mlk]*, "Whoever y[ou are O King]". Cf. l. 64.

78. *lzr̊*[ˁ *zy gbry* ˀ *lk šgy* ˀ *bpr*]*s* ˀ *sbl*
79. *br* [

78. [Fully] support [with allotm]ent the desc[endants of these men].
(63)
79. *br* [
(64)

77–78.   The beginning of l. 78 may be restored to yield *lzr[' zy gbry' 'lk šgy' bpr]š sbl*, "[Fully] sup-
(62–63)   port [with allotm]ent the desc[endants of these men]". The end of line 77 would thus have to refer
to "support" for the men themselves but the word(s) at the end of the line are obscure. We read
mn '[·]r[·]; perhaps *mn 'tr'* or *mn 'ḥry*. Akk. has "fully sustain these men and the descendants
of these men". Von Voigtlander rendered Akk. *suddid* as "protect" but the precise nuance of
both the Akk. and Aramaic terms is one of providing sustenance; cf. Kraeling 5:11–13, 9:17
and note to 5:11.

79.   *br* [It is difficult to relate these letters to the Akk. text whose Aramaic equivalent should have
(64)   been concluded in the line above. Is it a colophon? Both ll. 78 and 79 appear to have ended short.

FRAGMENTS

Sachau No. 68 (Plate 56)=P. 13447 Kol. I (Pls. I, Figs. 1, 3; VII upper; XI).
As mounted by Sachau, Plate 56 contains twenty fragments. Eighteen or nineteen have been integrated into the main text. Only fragment No. 1 is clearly isolated, coming from the beginning of Column III.

Fragment No. 1
TEXT

1. . . .]*zyln lqyḥt zk* ʾ[*nh ḥtybt* . . .
2. . . .]*nksyhwm wbtyhm*[. . .
3. . . .]*znh* ʾ*nh* ʿ*bdt* ʾ*nh*[. . .
4. ʾ*tnṣ*]*ḥt bṭllh zy* ʾ*hw*[*rmzd*

TRANSLATION

1. . . . Our [*kingship*] was taken [*from our line*]. That I [restored *as before*. . . .]
2. . . . Their goods and their houses [*I restored*. . . .]
3. . . . [With the protection of Ahuramazda] I did this. I [*strove*. . . .]
4. . . . I [*strov*]e with the protec[ti]on of Ahu[ramazda. . . .]

COMMENTARY

Sachau recognized this as the equivalent of OP Par. 14=Akk. Sec. 13 (ll. 24–28). However, the two terms *nksyhwm wbtyhm*, "their goods and their houses" correspond to four terms in the other three versions. The reading of the Akk. terms is uncertain and the meaning of some of the OP and Elamite terms is still being debated (cf. M. A. Dandamaev, *Persien unter den ersten Achämeniden* [6. *Jahrhundert v. Chr.*], Wiesbaden, 1976, 186ff). Attempts to elucidate the OP terms by reference to the Aramaic are marred by uncertainty as to whether the Aramaic also had originally four terms or simply the two preserved. This uncertainty, in turn, hinders restoration of the Aramaic text. According to our division of the original Aramaic text, the fragment would have come at the beginning of Column III.

1. *zyln lqyḥt*: to be restored along the lines of Sachau [*mn (qdm) zr*ʿ*n mlkwt*ʾ] *zyln lqyḥt*, "Our [kingship] was taken [from our line]". Akk. has *šarrūtu ša lapāni zērini šu iššu* (ll. 24–25), "the kingship (which) he took from our line". The verb *lqyḥt* is 3 f.s. passive perfect. The use of the passive is similar to the OP in this line.
   zk ʾ[: may be restored *zk* ʾ[*nh ḥtybt kzy qdmn hwt*], "That I [restored as before]"=Akk. *libbu panassu anāku ulterri* (l. 25). For the concept and terminology of restoration of the previous situation (*qdmn*) cf. Cowley 30:25, 31:24, 32:8ff, 33:9; Driver 5:9, 7:1, 5, 8; Ezra 5:11. For the sequence *lqh–htyb* cf. Cowley 20:6f, 34:6; Driver 12:7, 10. The verb *htyb* is normally used in Aramaic for restoration to the previous circumstances.

2. *nksyhwm wbtyhm*, "their goods and their houses". (Cowley erroneously transcribes *wbtyhwm*.) The OP has "pastures, herds, slaves, and houses" (cf. most recently Dandamaev, 198) and the Akk. (l. 26) has been rendered by Von Voigtlander "the herds, the flocks, the fields (and) hired workers (comprising) the bow-fiefs". Cf. further I. Gershevitch, *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1979, 131, 153. It is not clear whether the Aramaic text contained nouns reflecting the other terms.

3. *znh* ʾ*nh* ʿ*bdt*, "I did this"=Akk. *agā anāku ētepuš* (l. 27).

3–4. The same verb that followed ʾ*nh*, "I" in line 3 must have preceded *btllh*, "with the protection (of)" in line 4. The Akk. *up-te-te-qi-id*, "I strove" occurs in both lines (27–28): "I strove greatly until I had

re-established our royal house as before. I strove greatly under the protection of Ahuramazda. . . ."
One may suggest that the Aramaic was *šgy' 'tnšḥt*, for the OP equivalent of *upteteqid* is *hamataxšaiy*
and in DB 4.82 (par. 68) the equivalent of *hamataxšantā* was *šgy' 'tnšḥw*, cf. the note on Aramaic
l. 75. The unusual Akk. *upteteqid* was discussed by W. von Soden (*Orientalia* NS, XIX, 1950, 390).

4. *bṭllḥ*: only here and in fragment Pl. 57, 21 plus 61, 5; elsewhere in our inscription the form is
regularly *bṭlḥ* (ll. 10, 16, 26, 42).

Sachau No. 70, 17–29 (Plate 57)=P. 13442 (renumbered P. 13445C) (Pls. I, Figs. 1, 3; XXV upper).
As arranged by Sachau, Pl. 57, Nos. 17–29 contained fragments not believed to have any relation to
Bisitun. Nos. 17, 18, 20, 22, 24–27, 29 apparently belong to the same text, which mentiones Xerxes. In
the spring of 1981, Miss M. Krutzsch suggested that two fragments (Nos. 19 and 21 [for the latter see
below]) belong to Bisitun.

Fragment No. 19
TEXT

1. . . .] *ḥqymt̊*[
2. . . .]*m 'nḥ ḥ*[

TRANSLATION

1. . . .] I restored[
2. . . .].. I .[

Fragment No. 91 of 96 unpublished fragments was also identified by Miss Krutzsch as belonging to
Bisitun:

TEXT

1. . . .
2. . . .]*zyln l'*[

TRANSLATION

1. . . .
2. . . .]our not[

An attempt to restore the full text of 56,1 showed that it was possible to incorporate 57,19 in the
restoration: *ḥqymt*=Akk. *ultazziz* (l. 25). Because the resultant text appeared unduly long, it was not
presented above. With the subsequent discoveries of Miss Krutzsch (see p. 2 above and 56 below) it
became most likely that such a long-line column, exceptional though it may be, constituted Col. III of
the original scroll. It was then noticed that Fragment No. 91 of the 96 unpublished fragments fits right
below No. 57,19. The restored text and translation are presented here primarily as an exercise to validate
the assumption that Col. III corresponded to 16 Akk. lines: if 4 Aramaic lines corresponded to 4 Akk.
lines then the remainder of the column must have corresponded to Akk. lines 28–40. In fact, a whole
Akk. sentence must be omitted even to achieve the present text—"Persia, Media and the other lands
which he had taken I established just as before". Some sort of homoeoteleuton must have been at work
here whereby the scribe, having written *ḥqymt*, "I restored" (line 3) jumped to *šmt*, "I established" and
continued with the Ahuramazda formula. As noted, the relation of the property terms to each other in the
four languages is still not clear and the two terms restored below, "their fields and their servants" are
simply chosen to fill the required space (cf. Pl. XXV upper):

1. [*dryhwš mlk' kn 'nr mn z'rn mlkwt' *]*zyln lqyḥt zk '*[*nḥ kzy qdnun ḥṭybt b'trḥ 'nḥ*] *ḥqymt*[*bty*]
2. [*'lhy' zy gwmt zk mgr bnyt ḥqlyḥm w'bdyḥm *]*nksyḥwm wbtyḥm*[*zy 'm' zy lqḥ gwmt zk mgwš' mnḥ*]*m*
    'nḥ ḥ[*tybt*]

55

3. [*l'm' b'tryhm hqymt bṭllh zy 'hwrmzd*]*znh 'nh 'bdt 'nh*[*šgy' 'tnsḥt 'd zy byt' zyln kzy qdmn*]

4. [*b'trh 'nh hqymt 'nh šgy' 'tns*]*ḥt bṭllh zy 'hw*[*rmzd lqbl zy gwmt zk mgwš' byt'*]*zyln l'*[*lqḥ*]

TRANSLATION

1. [Thus says Darius the King:] Our [kingship] was taken [from our line]. That I [restored as before. I] established (it) [in its place.

2. I (re)built ⟨the temples⟩ of the gods which that Gaumata had destroyed. The fields and slaves,] goods and houses [of the people which that Gaumata, the Magian took from the]m I r[estored.

3. I (re-)established the people in their place.] I did this [with the protection of Ahuramazda]. I [strove greatly until ⟨I established⟩ our house ⟨in its place⟩ as before.

4. I stro]ve [greatly] with the protection of Ahu[ramazda so that that Gaumata, the Magian did] not [take] our [house.]

Fragment No. 21

In the spring of 1981 Miss Krutzsch had joined this fragment with Pl. 61,5, formerly believed to belong to a contract or letter. It corresponds to Akk. lines 11–12 and may be restored somewhat as follows (cf. Pl. XXV lower):

TEXT

1. [*dryhwš mlk' kn 'mr znh zy 'n*]*h 'bdt bṭll*[*h zy 'hwrmzd 'ḥr zy 'nh mlk hwyt*]

2. ['*yš ḥd knbwzy brh zy*]*krš bzr'n zyl*[*n tnh mlk' hwh*]

TRANSLATION

1. [Thus says Darius the King: This is what] I did with the protect[ion of Ahuramazda after I became king.

2. A man, Cambyses son of] Cyrus, of our line, [became king here].

COMMENTARY

1. [*znh zy 'n*]*h 'bdt bṭll*[*h zy 'hwrmzd*], "[This is what] I did with the protect[ion of Ahuramazda]" = Akk. *agā ša anāku ēpušu ina ṣilli ša Urimizda* (l. 11). Only here and in fragment Pl. 56,1 of Col. III do we have the form *bṭllh*. Beginning with Col. IV the form is always *bṭlh* (ll. 10, 16, 26, 42).
   [*'ḥr zy 'nh mlk hwyt*], "[after I became king]" = Akk. *arki ša ana šarri atūru* (l. 11).

2. [*'yš ḥd knbwzy brh zy*]*krš*, "[A man, Cambyses son of] Cyrus" = Akk. *ištēn amēlu Kambuziya maršu ša Kuraš* (l. 12). Aramaic omits the epithets, "King of Persia, King of Lands" (for comparable omissions cf. pp. 14–15).
   bzr'n zyl[*n*], "of ou[r] line" = Akk. *ša zēruya*. The use of *beth* for "of" is unexpected but cf. RES 1810:6 which should read "PN son of PN of the seed of (*bzr'*) PN" (cf. M. Sznycer, *Hommages à André Dupont-Sommer*, Paris, 1971, 167ff). The word *zr'* means literally "seed" as do its Akk. and OP equivalents. The phrase may be explained as an example of proleptic suffix *n*, "our" attached to the noun, plus independent possessive pronoun *zyln*, "our"; cf. the phrase *karmī šellī* (Cant. 1:6). [*tnh mlk' hwh*], "[became king here]" = Akk. *akanna ana šarri ittūr* (l. 12). For a similar expression with variant syntax cf. l. 38.

Fragment No. 93 of 96 unpublished fragments (Pl. II)

In spring of 1981 this fragment was associated with Bisitun on papyrological grounds by Miss M. Krutzsch. It does not fit in any of the missing passages in the preserved text and efforts to locate it elsewhere have yielded no results.

1. . . .]*y' 'ḥ*[

2. . . .]*dw zy l'*[

1.]*y*': cf. *šgy*' (l. 75); the singular determinative ending: *prsy*' *wmdy*' (l. 2); the plural determinative ending: *mrdy*', "rebels" (ll. 16, 33); *bty*', "palaces" (l. 37); *mrgwy*', "Margians" (ll. 32, 35); *qtyly*' *why*', "dead and living" (ll. 49, 61); *gbry*', "men" (l. 74).
   '*ḥ*[: cf. '*ḥr*, "then".
2.]*dw*: cf. '*ḥdw*, "seized"; *mrdw*, "rebelled".

LIST OF PERSONAL NAMES, PLACE NAMES, AND GENTILICS

Aramaic	Akkadian	Old Persian	English
ʾhwrmzd	ᵈÚ-ri-mi-iz-da	Ahuramazdāh	Ahuramazda
(4, 5, 10, 12, 13, 16, 26, 32, 33, 42, 55, 57, 72, 73; pp. 55f.)	(46, 50, 51, 52, 56, 58, 70 74, 76, 80, 81)		
[ʾḥmtn]	URU A-ga-ma-ta-nu	Hagmatāna	Ecbatana
(7)	(48)		
[ʾ]nz	KUR An-za-an	Yadā	Anshan
(37)	(72)		
ʾrrṭ	KUR Ú-ra-aš-ṭu	Armina	Armenia
(8, 9, 12, 16, 19, 20)	(49, 51, 52, 53, 54, 57)		
ʾ[rrṭy]	LÚ Ú-ra-aš-ˈta-a-aˈ	Arminiya	Armenian
(8)	(48)		
ʾršd	ˈURU Ar-ˈša-da-ʾ	Aršādā	Arshada
(60)	(83)		
ʾrtwzy	ᵐAr-ta-mar-zi-ia	Artavardiya	Artavarziya
(39, 40, 42, 45)	(73, 74, 76)		
[bb]l	DIN. TIRKI (Babili)	Bābiruš	Babylon
(25)	(57)		
[bgbgn]	ᵐBa-ga-bi-ig-na-ʾ	Bagābigna	Bagabigna
(77)	(111)		
[bḥtr]y	KUR Ba-aḫ-tar	Bāxtriš	Bactria
(31)	(69)		
b[r]zy	ᵐBar-zi-iá	Bardiya	Smerdis
(37, 41, 51, 75)	(72, 74, 75, 79)		
[gwbrw]	ᵐGu-ba-ru-ʾ	Gaubaruva	Gobryas
(76)	(111)		
gwm[t]	ᵐGu-ma-a-tú	Gaumāta	Gaumata
(74; p. 56)	(110)		
ddrš	ᵐDa-da-ar-šu	Dādaršiš	Dadarshu
(8, 9, 12, 15, 17, 31, 32)	(48, 49, 50, 52, 53)		
dryhwš	ᵐDa-ri-ia-muš	Dārayavahuš	Darius
(8, 19, 30, 36, 51, 53, 64, 74; pp. 55f.)	(48, 53, 57, 68, 70, 71, 72, 77, 78, 80)		
[hwdšy]	URU U-ba-da-sa-ia-a-a	Huvādaičaya	Uvadaichaya
(48)	(78)		
hyw	URU Ú-ia-a-ma-ʾ(?)	Huyamā	Uyama
(15)	(52)		
hrwḥty	KUR A-ru-ḫa-at-ti	Harahvatiš	Arachosia
(51, 53, 60, 63)	(79, 80, 83, 84)		
[wdrn]	ᵐÚ-mi-da-ar-na-ʾ	Vidarna	Vidarna (Hydarnes)
(2, 3, 6, 77)	(44, 45, 47)		
whwms	ᵐÚ-mi-is-si	Vahumisa	Vaumisa
(19, 20, 22, 23)	(53, 54, 55, 57)		

Aramaic	Akkadian	Old Persian	English
wyzdt (36, 41, 43, 44, 46, 48, 51, 54, 59)	ᵐÚ-mi-iz-da-a-tu (71, 72, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 80, 82)	Vahyazdāta	Vahyazdata
[*w*]*ymn* (52, 53, 54, 60, 62)	ᵐÚ-mi-ma-na-' (79, 80, 83, 84)	Vivāna	Vivana
[*wyspr*] (76)	ᵐÚ-mi-is-pa-ru-' (110)	Vāyaspāra	Vayaspara
w[*n*]*dprn* (76)	ᵐÚ-mi-in-ta-par-na-' (110)	Vindafarna	Vintaparna (Intaphernes)
[*wtn*] (76)	ᵐÚ-mi-it-ta-na (110)	Utāna	Utana (Otanes)
[*zwz*] (9)	URU Zu-u-zu (49)	Zūzahya	Zuzu
ḥnbn (7)	URU Ka-am-pa-da-' (47)	Kampanda	Kampanda
ywty (36)	KUR Ia-u-ti-ia (71)	Yautiyā	Yautiya
kndwr (25)	URU Ku-un-du-ur (57)	Kunduruš	Kundur
krš (37, 51; p. 56)	ᵐKu-ru-aš (72, 74, 79)	Kuruš	Cyrus
mgwš (75; pp. 55f.)	ma-gu-šu (110)	Maguš	Magian
mdy (1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 18, 24, 25, 39, 40)	KUR Ma-da-a-a (44, 45, 46, 47, 53, 57, 73)	Māda	Media
mdy (2)		Māda	Median
mr (4)	URU Ma-ru-' (45)	Māruš	Maru
mrdwny (76)	ᵐMar-du-ni-ia (111)	Marduniya	Mardonius
mrgw (30, 32, 35)	LU Mar-gu-ma-a-a (69, 71)	Mārgava	Margian
[*pr*]*g*' (46)	KUR Pa-ar-ga-' (76)	Parga	Parga
[*prd*'] (31)	ᵐPa-ra-da-' (68)	Frāda	Frada
pr[*wrt*] (25, 26)	ᵐPa-ar-ú-mar-ti-iš (58)	Fravartiš	Phraortes
prs (36, 37, 38, 40, 41, 48, 50)	KUR Par-su (71, 72, 73, 74, 76, 78)	Pārsa	Persia
prsy (2, 19, 36, 39, 52, 76, 77)	LU Par-sa-a-a (44, 53, 69, 71, 72, 73, 79)	Pārsa	Persian
prtw (29, 30, 36)	KUR Pa-ar-tu-ú	Parθava	Parthia
[*pšy*]*ḥ*[*wd*] (45)	KUR Pi-ši-'-ḫu-ma-da (76)	Paišiyāhuvādā	Pishikhuvada

Aramaic	Akkadian	Old Persian	English
rh'	*URU Ra-[ha-]'*	Raxā	Rakha
(41)	(74)		
tgr	*URU Di-ig-ra*	Tigra	Tigra
(12)	(51)		

It is clear from this list of some forty names that the Aramaic forms correspond to the Akkadian and both differ from the Old Persian. The best example of this correspondence is Aramaic *'rrt* = Akkadian Uraštu/Urartu rather than Old Persian Armina. Similarly, the Aramaic spelling of Barziya and Artavarziya is identical with the Akkadian and differs from Old Persian Bardiya and Artavardiya. These spellings, as scholars have pointed out (most recently, R. Schmitt, "Zur babylonischen Version der Bīsutūn-Inschrift", *AfO*, XXVI, 1980, 109) may be characterized as Median.

COMPARATIVE WORD LIST

This word list is not a glossary of the Aramaic Bisitun text. Its purpose is the listing of most of the Aramaic words in the text, together with their usual Akkadian equivalents in the text. The Akkadian words often have a slightly different nuance.

ʾzl	"to go"	
ʾzl	"went"	*ittalak*
ʾzl	"go!"	*alik*
ʾḥd	"to seize"	
ʾḥdw	"they seized"	*uṣṣabbitū*
ʾḥr	"after"	
ʾḥr	"afterwards"	*arki*
ʾḥry	"after me"	*arkiya*
ʾyš	"man"	*amēlu* (LÚ)
ʾmr	"to say"	
ʾmr	"he says"	*iqabbi*
ʾmrt	"I said"	*altapar umma*
ʾnh	"I"	*anāku*
ʾrk	"to be long"	
yʾrkwn	"will be long-lasting"	*lirikū*
ʾth	"to come"	
ʾth	"he came"	*ittalak*
b	"in"	*ina*
bhm	"of them"	*ina libbišunu*
gbr	"man"	
gbrʾ	"man"	*amēlu*
hwh	"to be"	
thwh	"you will be"	*tellâ*
hn	"if"	
whn	"and if"	*u kī*
zhr	"to guard"	
ʾzhr	"be careful"	*uṣur ramānka*
zk	"that"	*agāšû*
znh	"this"	*agā*
zʿr	"to be small"	
zʿyr	"small"	*īṣi, mīṣi*
ḥd	"one"	*ištēn* (1-*en*)
ḥyl	"army, troop"	*uqu*
ḥyn	"alive"	*balṭūtu*
ḥrʾ	"free men, nobles"	*mār-banūtu* LÚ DUMU. DÙ MEŠ
ṭll	"shadow, protection"	
bṭlʾ	"in the protection"	*ina ṣilli* (GIŠ. MI)
yrḥ	"month"	*arḥu* (ITI)
ytb	"to dwell"	
ytb	"dwelling"	*āšib*
kdb	"to lie"	
ykdb	"will lie"	*uparraṣu*
kdbn	"lies"	*pirṣātu*
kn	"thus"	*kiam*

knš	"to gather, assemble"	
ʾtknšw	"they assembled"	*ipḫurūnimma*
ktr	"to wait"	
mktr ly	"waited for me"	*idaggalū pānīya*
lm	"saying"	*umma*
mṭʾ	"to arrive"	
lnmṭh	"to arrive at", "upon arrival"	*ana kašādu*
mn	"from"	*lapāni*
mlk	"king"	*šarru* (LUGAL)
mrd	"to rebel"	
mrdyʾ	"rebellious"	*nikrūtu*
npḥr	"total"	*napḥar*
sbl	"to sustain"	
sbl	"sustain!"	*suddid*
sʿd	"to support"	
sʿdny	"has supported me"	*issēdanu*
ʿbd	"to do, make"	
ʿbdt	"I did"	*ēpušu*
ʿbdw qrbʾ	"they joined battle"	*ītepšū ṣaltu*
lmʿbd qrb	"to join battle"	*ana epēš tāḫaza*
ʿlym	"lad, servant"	
ʿlymy	"my servant"	*qalla*
ʿrʿ/ʿrq	"to happen"	
lʿrʿh/lʿrqh	"toward (him)"	*ana tarṣi*
spn	"to hide"	
thṣpn	"you shall conceal"	*tapessinu*
qṭl	"to kill"	
qṭlt	"I killed"	*addūku*
qṭlw	"they killed"	*iddūkū*
qṭl	"kill!"	*dūku*
qṭylyʾ	"killed"	*dīku*
qrq	"to flee"	
[q]rq, qr[q]	"he fled"	*iḫliq*
rglyʾ	"campaign"	*ḫarrānu* (KASKAL II)
šgyʾ	"much"	*mādu*
šlḥ	"to send"	
šlḥt	"I sent"	*ašpur*
trty	"second"	*šanītu*

62

THE ARAMAIC TEXT IN
MODERN HEBREW CHARACTERS

1. [ ]   אחר הו מלך במדי[

2. [הוה חילא פ]רסי[א ומדיא זי עמי זעיר הוה אחר]   חיל[א למדי שלחת ודרן שמה עלימי פרסי]

3. [בראשהום] א[מרת אזל קטל לחילא זי מדי זי לא [שֿמעון לי] אחר ודרן עם חילא אזל למדי
   למטה מדי]   ו מד[

4. במר[ן שֿ]מֿה קֿרֿבֿ[א עבד עם חילא זי מדי זי על מד]יא רבהֿו[ה לא הוה תמה אה]ור[מזד סעדני בטלה]

5. [ז]ֿי אֿהֿוֿרֿמֿזד ח[ילא זֿילֿי קטלו למרדיא אלך ב רֿ ||| ||| לטבת עבדו קרבא קטלו]

6. [ב]הֿם ||| אוֿן ל[פ] ||| ||| ||| [ן] ||| רֿ[רֿ]ב||| ||| וֿחין אחדו ||| \ לפ ||| לֿרֿ רֿ ||| ||| | אחר ודרן במדי
   מנ]דֿעם לא ע[בד]

7. [ב]חֿנבֿן [זי ב]מֿדי [תמה מכת]רֿן לֿיֿ [עד זי אנה אזל למדי אחר אזלו עלי לאחמתן]

8. [דריה]וֿש מלכא [כן א]מֿר ד[דרש א]ֿרֿטי עלימי לארֿט שלחת לממטה ארֿרט   מרדיא א[תֿכנשו

9. [אזלו [לערעֿה זֿ]ֿיֿ[ד]ֿדֿרש למעֿבד [קרב אחר דדרש עבד קרבא בזוז שמה ברתא [בֿאֿרֿטֿ

10. [אהור]מֿזֿרֿ סעדני בטלה זי אהורמֿ[זד חילא זֿילי קטלו לחילא מרדיא בו||| ||| וֿ[ן] לא[ירֿ] עבדו[

11. [קרבא קטלו בהם ||| ||| [ן] ||| רֿ[רֿ]ב ||| ||| \ וֿחין אחדוֿ[··] וֿ[ן ||| וֿן | בתרתי רגליא מרדיא
    אתכנש]ו אזלו[

12. [לערקה זי דדרש [למעבד קרבֿ] א[חֿוֿר עבדו קרבא [ב]תֿגֿר שמה ברתא בארֿט אֿהֿורמזד סעדנֿ[י בטלה]

13. [זי אהורמזד חילא זֿיֿ]לֿיֿ קטלו למרדיא בֿ רֿ ||| ||| וֿ[ן לאיר עבדו קרב קטלו בהם ||| וֿ| לפ
    רֿרֿ וֿ[||| ||[ן

14. [וֿחין אחדו ||| וֿ| לֿרֿ רֿ[

15. [בתלתי מרדיא [אֿתכנשו אזלו לערק[הֿ] זֿיֿ דדרש למעֿבד קרב אחר עבדו קרב בֿהיו[שמה]

16. [ברתא בארֿט אהור]מֿזֿד סעדני בטלה זי אהֿוֿ[רמֿזֿד] חילא זֿילֿי למֿרֿ[ד]יֿֿא [ק]ֿטלו בו||| ||| וֿ[ן]
    לסיון[

17. [עבדו קרב קטלו ב]הֿם ||| לֿ[רֿ]רֿ[רֿ]רֿין וֿחין אחדֿ[ו · ··] לֿרֿ [וֿ|ן]   אֿחר דדרש מנֿ[דעם ל]א עביד
    מכֿ[ֿ]ר לֿ[יֿ]

18. [עד זי אנה אזל למד]ֿי

19. [דריהוש מלכא כן אמ]ר והומס [ש]מה עילמי פרסי [לארטרט של]חת] אמרת אזל ח[יל]א זך
מרדיא [זי לא]

20. [שמען לי קטל] אחר והומס אזל לארטרט למטה מר[ד]י[ו א אתכנשו אזל]ו לערקה זי] וה[ומס]

21. [למעבד קרב עבדו קר]ב קטל בהם ון לפ ר—III\

22. [בתרתי רגליא מר]דיא אתכנשו א[ז]ל[ו לערקה זי והמו למעבד קר]ב ע[בדו קרבא [בדר לאיר
עב]דו קרב]

23. [קטלו בהם ון לפדד]III||| ון [ו] ח[י]ן אחדו ן לפ ||| ן || אחר וה[ומ]ס מנדעם [לא עבד
מ]כתר לי] עד זי]

24. [אנה אזל למדי]

25. [דריהוש מלכא כן אמר אחר מן בב]ל [נפ]קת אזל מ[די] למטה מדי בכנדור שמה במד[י פרו]רת
זך ע]ם חילא]

26. [אזל לערקי למעבד קרב עבדו קרבא אהור]מ[זד ס]עדני ב[ט]ל[ל]ה זי אהורמזד חילא זי [פרורת
ק]טלת ב]דד||| ||

27. [לניסן עבדו קרב קטלת בהם ||| ון לפ ||\ |||]ר [|||]ון [וחיו] אחדת[|||]ון ||| ון לפ—]

28. [ ]חי[ ] [

29.] אחר] מתא לי הות זנה זי בפרתו עבדת

30. [דריהוש מלכא כן אמר עלי מרדת מתא] פרתו שמה מ[ר]גו מלך עליהם עבדו

31. [פרדא שמה אחר שלחת דדרש] שמ[ה עלימי פרסי פחתא ז[י בחתר]י אמרת אזל ק[טל
ק]

32. [לחילא זי לא שמען ל]י אחר ד[דרש א]ז[ל עבד קרב עם מרג[ו]לא אהורמזד סעדני

33. [בטלה זי אהורמזד] חילא זי ל[י ק]טלו למרד[יא] אלך ב ר ||| לכלתלו עבדו קרב

34. [קטלו בהם ||| ו]ן [|||]ו]ן לפ || ר ||| [ר]ו]ן ||| וחיו א]חדו [ ] לפ || ר ||| ||| ון לפ || ר ||| |||]ו—]

35. [אחר מתא לי ה]ות זנה זי אנה [במ]רגויא [עבדת]

36. [דריהוש מלכא כן אמ]ר [ו]ידזת ש[מה] בפרת]ו ביו]תי שמה פרסי יתב בפרס [קם אמר]

65

37. [לעמא אנה ברזי בר]ה זי כרש אחר ח[י]לא ז[י לא ז]י פרס] כמסת זי בבתיא באלוך זי ב[א]נ[ז

38. [מן קדמי מרדו על]והי אזלו הו מ[לכ]א ב[פרס ה]וה אחר אנה חילא[ז]י בפרס זעיר

39. [זי מן קדמי לא מר]דו וחילא זי מדי זי עמ[י הו]ה שלחת ארתורזי שמה פרסי

40. [עלימא זילי בראשהו]ם שלחת ושא[ר חילא זי [פ]רס ומד[י [עמי אז [ל]ו אחר ארתו [רזי]

41. [עם [ח]ל [לא אזל לפרס למם]טא ברחא שמה] בפרס ויזד[ת [זך] זי אמ]ר [אנה ב]ר]זי אתה
    [ע]ם [חילא

42. [לער]ק[ה] זי ארתורזי [ל]מ[ע]ב[ד ק]ר[ב וק]רבא עבדו [אהורמזד] ס[ע]דני ב[ט]לה זי אה[ונרמזד

43. [חי]לא [זילי י ק]טלו [לחילה] זי ויזדת ב ┐┐ן לאיר] עבדו קרבא [ק]טלו בה[ם ┃┃┃ 𐎛 ┃ ┃┃ ל

44. [┃┃┃\[┃┃┃🦅\┃ו[חי]ו]ן אחדו   אחר ויזדת זך עם] חילא זעי]רא] רכבי סוסין קר [ק]

45. [פשי]ח [וד [אזל] מן אתרא זך לחילא כנש [אתה לער]ק]ה [זי א]רתור[ז]י למעב]ד קרב]

46. [בפר]גא [טו]רא] שמה תמה עבדו קרב חילא זילי קטל[ו חיל]א ז[י [ויזד]ת בירח ת[מוז]

47. עבדו קרבא קטלו בה]ם   וחין אחדו   [

48. ויזדת אחדו וחרא זי עמ]ה אחר בהודשי בפרס ויזדת וחרא זי עמה כלא בזקיפא]

49. שמת נפ[חר] קטיליא וח[י]א זי חילא זילי קטלו ואחדו   [

50. דד ┐ ┐ ן זנה זי אנה בפרס [עבדת]

───────────

51. דריהוש מלכא כן אמר ו [יזדת זך זי אמר אנה ברזי בר כרש חילא להרוחתי]

52. שלח ואיש חד בראשהו]ם שלח לערקה זי ו]ימן שמה עלימא זילי פרסי פחתא]

53. זי בהרוחתי לם אזלו ל[ו]ימן קטלו ולחילא זי לדריהוש מלכא שמעו]

66

קטלו חילא זי ויזדֹתֹ] שלח לערקה זי וימן אזלו ‏ ‏ [על ‏ ‏ ·· ‏ ‏ ‏]

אהוֹרֹמזד סֹעדני [בטלה זי אהורמזד קטלו חילא זי]לי לחֹ[ילא מרדיא קטלו]

בהם [i]i[i] 5[ף 1[i]i[i]ן 5[ד דדד-ֹ הֹ-][iii ‏ ‏]ן iii[ווחין אחדו i[i]iֹןֹiֹ[ילֹ דדד-iii ‏ ‏]ן [ב ד iii ‏ ‏]ן לטבת]

עבדו קרב אהורמזד סֹ[עדני בטלה זי אֹ]הֹורמזד חילֹאֹ זֹ[לי קטלו לחילא]

מרדיא קטלו בהם ‏ ‏ iii[\ן ף iii ‏ ‏]ן 5[ד דדד-iii ‏ ‏]ן ‏ ‏ iii iii ‏ ‏]ן ו[חֹיֹן אֹחדו iii[i]iֹ[ילֹ][דדד-iii ‏ ‏]ן אחר]

גברא זך זי רֹבֹ הוה עֹ[ל חילא זי שלח ויזדת עם] חֹילא [זֹ]עירֹ[א רכבי סוסין]

קֹ[ן]רֹק ארשֹֹ [בֹ]רֹתא במֹ[תא הרוחתי אזל אחר וֹ] ימן עֹם חֹילֹ[א אזל לערקהום]

תמה גברא זך אחֹ[ד קטֹ]לה וחרא זי עמה הוה קֹ[טֹלוֹ נפחר קֹ[טיליא וחיא זֹי]

[ויזדת זי חי]לֹי קטלו [ואחדו] ‏ ‏ [iii ‏ ‏]ן אחר מתֹ[א לי הות זנה]

[זי אנה בהר]וֹחתי עבדֹ[תֹ]

[דריהוש מלכא כן אמר מן אנֹ]תֹ מֹלך זי אחרי תהֹוה איש זי יכדב

קֹ[‏ ‏ ‏]ֹ מן כדבן שגיאֹן אזהר עֹ[‏ ‏ ‏ ··· ‏ ‏ ‏]זי יכדב ‏ ‏ ‏]

שגיא] הודע איך זי עֹביד אנת וֹאֹיֹך הֹלֹכתך ‏ ‏]

זי בא]לֹנך יאמֹרֹ שמע זי פרתֹרֹ יאמר ‏ ‏]

יֹ[עֹבד זי מֹסכֹן יעבד זך חזי אף קֹדמתך ‏ ‏]

אל בֹ[טובך אימֹנש תהֹוה ‏ ‏ [·] ‏ ‏]רכלֹיך על ילֹ ‏ ‏]ןֹ ‏ ‏]

[חֹרי ת ··· סוֹהֹתא ·[iֹ] ·· ··· ··[iֹ·· ‏ ‏]

‏ ‏ ··· ‏ ‏ לֹ[עֹמא קשטא אמר אל תהצפן] לה [הן] לאֹ תֹהצפן

72. אהורמזד יב[רכנך וזרע יהוה לך [שגא ויומיך יארכון והן תהצלפן

73. אהורמזד יק[ללנך וזרע לא יהוה לך]

74. דרלההוש [מלכא כן אמר אלה גבר]לא זי קדמן עמי הוו על אנה [קט]לת לגומ[ת ז]רֿ

75. מׄגושא [זי כדב לם אנה ברזי אלה [שֹׄגיא עׄמׄ[ך] אתֹׄנׄצחֹׄו

76. ו[נ]דׄפרׄ[ן [שמה בר ויספר פרסי ותן ש]מׄה [בר · · · [פׄ[ר]סׄי [גוברו ש]מׄה בר מׄרׄד[ונ]י

77. פרסֿי ו[דרן שמה בר בגבגן פ]רֿסי מן אנֿ[ת מלך [· מן א·ר·

78. לזׄ[ע זי גבריא אלך שגיא בפר]סא סבל

79. בר]

68